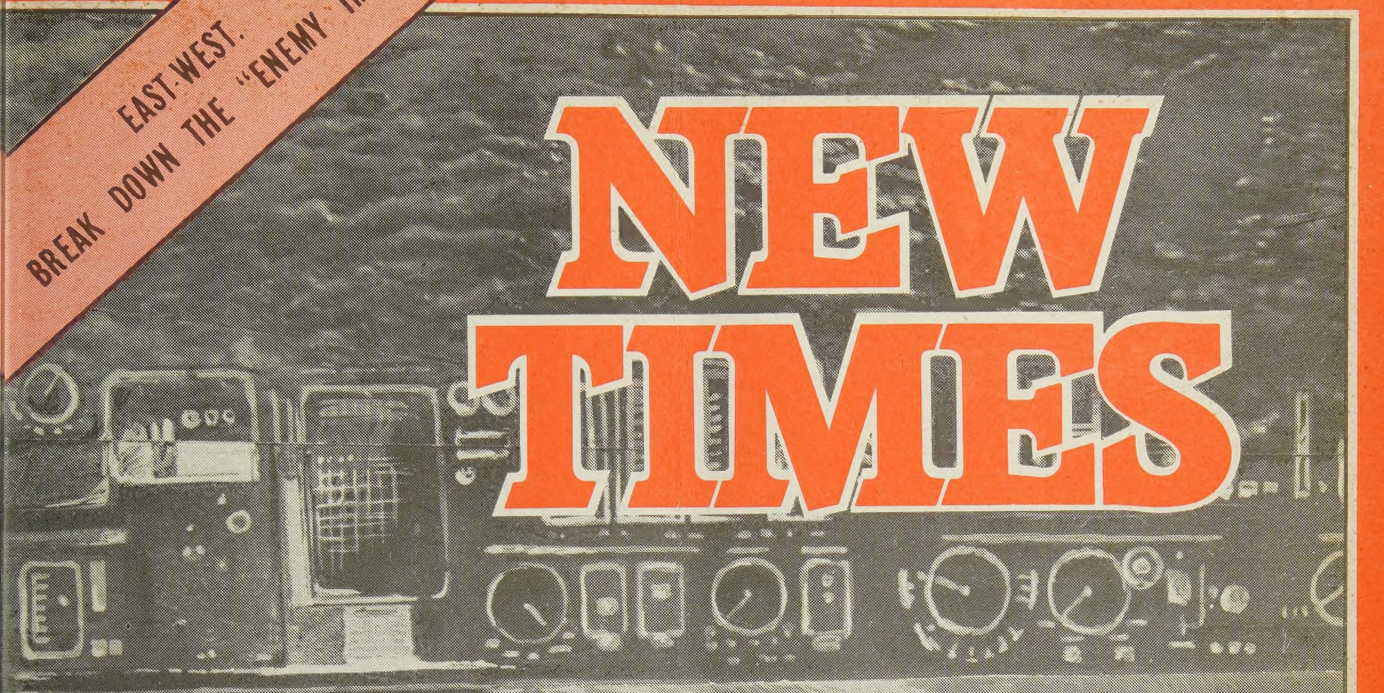
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

EAST-WEST.
BREAK DOWN THE "ENEMY IMAGE"

NEW TIMES



SDI:

WHAT CHANCE HAS PEACE IF ITS FATE IS LEFT TO COMPUTERS?

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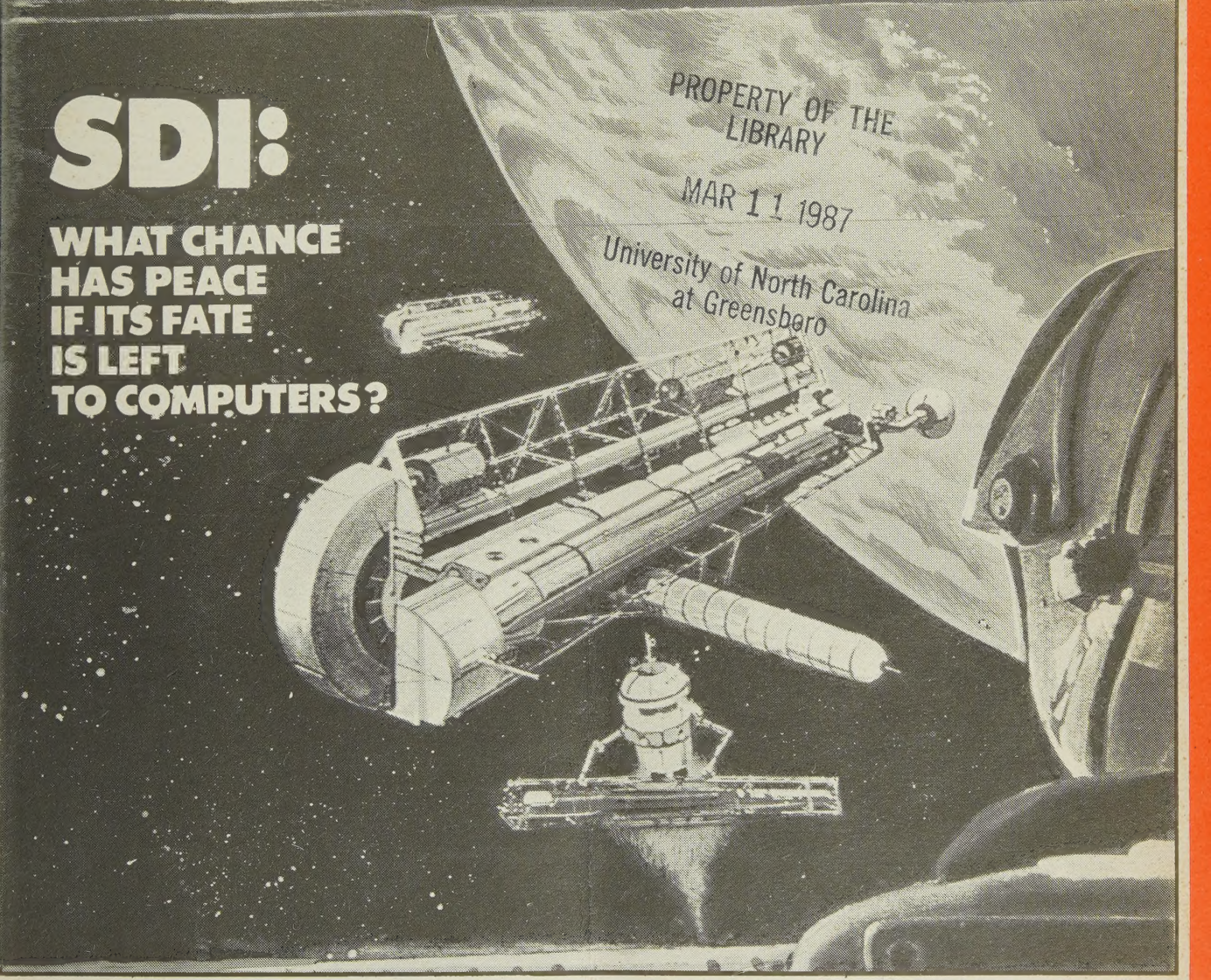

ON THE TRAIL OF THE KILLERS OF OLOF PALME

THE RUTHLESS SAFARI

1917–1987

The peasant with a bast basket was a typical figure in prerevolutionary Russia. But this photograph was taken in the early 1920s, before the country had recovered from the ordeals experienced by the revolutionary people.

At the end of 1921 the State Bank of the Russian Federation was founded. The reviving agriculture, industry and trade needed credit, but the inflation that had raged for several years had devalued the currency then in circulation—a box of matches cost close to a million! The State Bank began to issue bank notes backed by gold. The emblem on these bank notes was The Sower.

It was in 1921 that the new economic policy, or NEP for short, was introduced. It helped to extricate the economy from the state of utter dislocation. In 1922 the harvest was considerably higher than in the previous years. The famine was over, industry began to receive agricultural raw materials. The fuel situation improved and the national economy was able to go over—no small achievement—from firewood to mineral fuel. Light industry expanded rapidly. Rail traffic was restored throughout the country. People coming to Moscow from other parts of the land were amazed to see more than ten markets, including the famous Sukharevka, functioning in the recently starving city.

On November 7, 1922, the fifth anniversary of Soviet power was celebrated. Meetings and rallies were held everywhere. "Glory to the fallen in the battle for communism, victory to the living!" These words were inscribed on banners on Red Square. The civil war had ended in victory, now victory had to be won in peaceful construction.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

9

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ONE YEAR AFTER THE 27th CPSU CONGRESS
General Secretary Gorbachev talking to workers in Tallinn.

NEW TIMES

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

My country is going through a change. Fairness and an honest approach to the business in hand are winning through, though sometimes with difficulty. This makes me sincerely happy.

For myself, I will spare neither energy nor, if need be, life for the success of our foreign and domestic policies. For Lenin things were harder, as the country was in ruins in his day. Today it is strong, and I believe all our difficulties will be overcome.

ELENA PECHEN
Zaporozhye, U.S.S.R.

The new political thinking is not and cannot be a product of abstract theory. It is the fruit of practical actions, the rallying of all forces that want to achieve man's common goals, avert nuclear catastrophe and save civilization.

THOMAS TRAUT
Sonneberg, G.D.R.

I follow the changes in your society initiated by the 27th Congress of your Communist Party with keen interest. You call these changes "perestroika." I have come to the conclusion that to take so decisive a step your society must be stable and deeply confident of its strength.

BERT WILSON
Toronto, Canada

In the year that has just begun I wholeheartedly wish the Soviet people success in their implementation of the programmes and objectives outlined by the CPSU at its 27th Congress. May this be a year of peace, joy and fortune.

GREGORIO GONZALEZ GARCIA
Madrid, Spain

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

CLIMBING THE MOUNTAIN

One year ago the 27th Congress of the CPSU opened a new chapter in the life of the Soviet people and history in general. Is a year much or little? Everything, of course, is relative. There have been years in the history of the land of Soviets that in terms of accomplishment have been the equivalent of decades.

The congress advanced a policy dictated by bitter experience. A policy of accelerating social and economic development, of transforming, regenerating all aspects of the life of society. It rallied the Soviet people to unremitting effort to carry out a difficult task of vital importance to all. As was noted by the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, society has espoused the policy put forward by the congress. For there is no alternative to current reform. Today it is no longer merely an idea, it is the reality.

In his concluding speech at the plenum, Mikhail Gorbachev likened the renovation of society to climbing a mountain, often along uncharted paths. The past year has inspired us with confidence that this difficult ascent is within our powers. The 27th Congress awakened in the millions of Soviet people a lively interest in the affairs of society. The nation, welcoming the light of truth, appreciates the changes for the better taking place in the country.

It is indicative that the keynote of many of the letters received by the Central Committee of the Party and the editorial offices of newspapers and journals is that life is becoming more and more interesting from day to day. And during his talks and meetings with working people in Latvia and Estonia, Mikhail Gorbachev was repeatedly urged to "Keep it up! Keep it up!" This exhortation not to falter, not to stop halfway but to proceed firmly along the road of renewal was testimony both to wide support for the policy of the 27th Congress and to concern evoked, evidently, by the fact that so far not everywhere and not in every respect are things proceeding as smoothly as one would wish and in keeping with the dictates of the time.

The January plenum gave an added dimension to the revolutionary nature of the changes outlined by the 27th Congress, focussed attention on the need for far-reaching democratization of Soviet society. Never before, perhaps, has the question been put so plainly and unambiguously. Renewal is possible only if the people, the main motive force, take an active part in the social process. Hence, it is necessary to throw all the doors open to the broadest democracy in all spheres—economic, political and cultural. The CPSU, the ruling party, wants openness, the promotion of criticism and self-criticism in its own ranks.

The full potential of our political system must be drawn upon in order to impart a deepgoing democratic content to the work of the Party, the Soviets, state bodies, trade union, youth and other public organizations, as well as working collectives. In a word, democracy is the substance of the restructuring of society. It is the guarantee of the fulfilment of our plans, of the realization of the decisions of the 27th Congress, of multiplying the epochal accomplishments of the October Revolution.

Even our ill-wishers concede that a great many changes have taken place and are continuing to take place in the Soviet Union. Our adversaries, of course, have their own view of these changes. Nevertheless the admission in itself is symptomatic.

We know better than anyone else that only the initial steps have been taken, that we have only just begun the radical restructuring. The current and the following two years will probably be the hardest. But we are convinced that the process of renewal is irreversible. There will be no turning back.

Through Western Eyes

The Soviet Union one year after the 27th Party Congress

GENNADY GERASIMOV

Today, just a year after the 27th CPSU Congress, the West finds the Soviet Union changed beyond recognition.

The changes laid bare the theoretical poverty of Sovietologists, who are now in considerable disarray. As they look at the Soviet Union today, none of them has the slightest chance of being able to say, with malicious glee: "I told you so."

The changes have rendered meaningless such propaganda clichés as "Soviet expansionism" and "the closed society."

The changes have compelled many to revise their notions of Soviet society—notions formed under the influence of such clichés.

The changes have posed a question of practical political importance: how is the Soviet Union to be treated now?

"The Soviet Union is a different place," Warren Zimmerman, head of the U.S. delegation at the Vienna meeting of the Helsinki Conference participating states, observed, voicing a widespread view. "Is what we are all seeing superficial or profound? Is it the reality or just the appearance of change? The answer is not obvious. The picture remains mixed."

Many guests at the Moscow forum for a nuclear-free world, for the survival of mankind probably came to see whether the picture was genuine and satisfied themselves that it was.

Susan Eisenhower, executive director of the World Affairs Institute, disagrees with assertions that all the Soviet Union is seeking is to improve its image in order to impress the West. She is quite right: the changes are a response to the imperatives of the times, not to the West.

Such assertions can be described as rearguard action by those whose staple response to any Soviet move is "propaganda!"

Today they have changed their tune to "we welcome the Soviet steps, but they do not go far enough."

In its official reaction to the Soviet leader's statement at the Moscow international forum, the U.S. State Department demanded "new concrete proposals" for achieving arms reduction, bringing about a settlement in Afghanistan and promoting human rights as "proof of the Soviet Union's seriousness."

Claude Monier of the Swiss paper La Suisse comments on the Western tactic of raising the bar for the Soviet high jump:

"We shall never get out of the tunnel this way: we demand that the other side should prove its good will, and each time it does (in its own way and at its own pace, of course) we say it is a ploy and ask for more proofs."

Isn't this tactic in fact a stratagem on the part of those in the West who are opposed in principle to dialogue with the East?

The "Soviet propaganda" ball was thrown into a discussion of the latest developments in the Soviet Union presented by the American TV company ABC in its Sunday programme "This Week with David Brinkley" on February 22, with this author attending.

Supposing the whole thing was a propaganda ploy to lull Washington into complacency, asked our host.

Professor Jeane Kirkpatrick, the former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, noted for her right-wing views, objected that the Soviet leader's statements were intended chiefly for domestic consumption, and added that it wasn't quite clear what they signified for the Americans.

Kirkpatrick had recently visited Moscow and made some discoveries there. Her attitude to the Soviet Union is said to be changing. She contributed an article on her Soviet impressions, entitled "Gorbachev's Campaign of Reforms: A Reality," to the Finnish paper Helsingin Sanomat.

Kirkpatrick said she regarded her trip to Moscow as extremely useful and interesting.

Is George Will or any other extreme right-wing journalist going to accuse Kirkpatrick of naiveté or of playing into Soviet propagandists' hands through ignorance?

Asked by Brinkley whether America should jump on the Soviet train, Kirkpatrick replied: "We should watch with great interest and hope."

James Schlesinger, who has held a succession of ministerial posts, introduced an element of "realpolitik" into the TV discussion. Would it do America any good if Gorbachev succeeded in making the system more efficient, he asked.

Another participant in the discussion—William Hyland of the New York Council on Foreign Relations—piled up "the obstacles Gorbachev will come up against," on the one hand, warning, on the other, that "a revived Soviet Union would be dangerous." This possibility should be counterbalanced by carrying on the arms race. "The Soviet state will pursue its interests whether liberal or conservative," his negative conclusion was.

Hyland is one of those who wouldn't listen to reason. For him, Soviet motives remain as a certain Mr X described them in the magazine Foreign Affairs of July 1947. Over forty years since then George Kennan (alias Mr X) himself has come all the way from his former views to active support for Soviet-American understanding (this evolution has been well documented by the press). Nevertheless, Washington's upper-echelon officials (including those working in the White House basement and in the "executive building" next door), regard the biassed representation of Soviet objectives found in a forty-year-old copy of the magazine as the ultimate truth.

The 27th CPSU Congress stimulated the all-round rearrangement of Soviet society. As applied to international relations, new thinking means abandoning the autarchy in searching for ways of ensuring national security and changing over to the concept of ensuring universal international security by joint efforts.

The world has become too fragile for nationalistic or ideological ambi-

tions. Nuclear weapons must be eliminated. Our country, referred to as a "nuclear superpower" in the West, is prepared to step down from this pedestal and forgo the "super" prefix. Is this preparedness shared by Paris, London and Washington?

So how is the Soviet Union to be treated today?

Professor O. Nathan, Rector of Copenhagen University, suggests the following formula: "What's good enough for Gorbachev is good enough for us."

The F.R.G. politician Egon Bahr takes a similar view. "I am convinced that it is better to test Gorbachev than to test new bombs."

In its January 26 issue the American magazine Newsweek published a reader's letter which went: "How sad that the United States cannot take advantage of Gorbachev's efforts to create a more open Soviet society, thereby helping to promote world peace. As long as Reagan sits in the White House presiding over an administration that is lost between reality and a B-grade movie, Gorbachev will have the centre of the world's stage to himself."

In U.S. official quarters, anti-Sovietism has been elevated to the status of a religion which is above reason. At the same time, however, Rosanne Ridgway, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, told the U.S. Congress House of Representatives that the Soviet Union's preoccupation with domestic reforms shows it is not interested in expanding the sphere of its external influence.

Washington has fenced itself in with a brick wall of anti-Sovietism. Writing in one of last year's issues of Foreign Affairs, Professor John Lukacs of Philadelphia mentioned the American "tendency to identify communism with the source of every possible evil," and cited an example: over 130 years ago George Fitzhugh published the book, "Sociology of the South," advocating slavery as a public institution. Marx's "Communist Manifesto" was then largely unknown in America, but Fitzhugh proposed that the alternative to the maintenance of slavery was—God forbid—communism.

In Lukacs's opinion, "the ideological perception of the Soviet Union endangers the prospects of American statecraft."

The West has proved unprepared for the current changes in the Soviet Union. We are accused of sowing discord in the Western alliance, but this discord is in fact due to the different reactions to the developments in our country. For instance, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the F.R.G.'s Minister of Foreign Affairs, called on the West "to take Gorbachev and his new policy literally with all the ensuing consequences." If Washington disagreed, it's not Moscow's fault.

In short, the West must make up its mind about whether to join the Soviet Union in its effort for a world without wars, without violence, without nuclear weapons, for this objective is the true motivation of Soviet behaviour. ■

READERS' FORUM

Of Benefit to All

The process of restructuring elaborated by the CPSU at its 27th Congress implies comprehensive economic, political and social changes in the life of the Soviet Union.

This process is gathering momentum, and I believe we are already in a position to form some idea of its effectiveness. It is in no sense a mere face-lift comparable with, for instance, respraying an old car. For Soviet citizens it means great changes in their intellectual life and their attitude to work. Deep-seated reforms are to be seen today at once in Moscow and the most far-flung villages, in both farming and industry. Soviet foreign policy is now more active and major peace initiatives are being put forward, especially in connection with détente and disarmament. The Soviet Union's relations with other countries, including developing states, are reaching a new and higher plane.

The process of restructuring has not yet, I believe, produced all the tangible results its organizers hope to achieve. Nonetheless, what has already been accomplished inspires confidence and optimism, and calls for still greater effort. I trust that this process will yield beneficial results both for Soviet society and the world as a whole. Time and honest work are all that is needed to carry this process forward.

FARID ABDO
Afrin, Syria

Objective Information Confounds Slanderers

I should like to underscore a point that has not, until recently, normally been associated in the West with the Soviet Union. This is your openness about everything that is happening in your country. The 27th CPSU Congress has given this process tremendous and unprecedented scale and depth. Far from losing out as a result, as one sometimes hears it said, your country has, on the contrary, reaped a double benefit. On the one hand, Soviet people know more about the negative phenomena in the country, and this will greatly help in eradicating them. On the other hand, objective information from the Soviet Union frustrates professional detractors in the West whose job it is to present a distorted picture of the country that has done so much for its own people and for world peace.

Though the process of reorganization in the Soviet Union has only begun, I support it wholeheartedly, as well as General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's energetic actions and his belief that the reorganization under way in the U.S.S.R. is a genuine revolution.

I salute Lenin's great people who, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, are unswervingly carrying on their effort to build a truly humane and just—communist—society.

FRANCISCO JAVIER RODRIGUEZ ABRAHAM
Peru

Earnest of Success

The Soviet state's new line, the "Gorbachev style" as it is termed, is radically innovative. Its greatest importance lies in the earnestness with which people are prepared to carry out all the new tasks. This in itself can be seen as a guarantee of success. Man's intellectual and physical potential is limitless when the goals are inspiring.

ARNE GUSTAVSSON
Stockholm, Sweden

The 18th Congress of Soviet trade unions is expected to determine the role to be played by the largest public organization in the country in the irreversible changes now under way in our society. The congress is to formulate new objectives for our trade unions. Some of these objectives will be concerned with their international links.

Taking part in the congress are 5,000 delegates, and over 300 guests from 134 countries representing 187 national and nine international and regional trade union federations and public organizations, as well as from UNESCO and the International Labour Organization.

Working for United Action

GENNADY YANAYEV, Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions

Any discussion of the activity of Soviet trade unions on the international scene entails an examination of the purpose and aims of our work.

This is particularly important as frequent attempts have been made to ignore our aims or deliberately to distort them. For instance, a book entitled "Labor in Soviet Global Strategy," published in New York, claims that the Soviets regard united action by international, regional or sectoral trade unions as a means of undermining the West.

Let us leave half-baked theories about the U.S.S.R.'s Machiavellian schemes to the author of the above-mentioned book, who works at the National Strategy Information Centre. The publication is one more attempt on the part of big business to frustrate efforts to resolve the key problem confronting the international trade union movement, namely, the organization of united action by national trade union centres and the promotion of dialogue and cooperation, particularly in the campaign for peace.

The situation in the international trade union movement is something of a paradox. Each of the three trade union centres—the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labour—has formulated its manifesto on the key questions of the fight for peace. It is worth noting that on many issues their stance is identical. All international and regional trade union centres and the overwhelming majority of national unions, regardless of their political orientation, are now demanding an end to the arms race on Earth and its prevention in space, along with the banning of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction.

However, regrettably, joint practical action is clearly lacking.

The cold war has done more than just split the trade union movement organizationally. It has given rise to a confrontationalism that has struck deeper root than might have been imagined. Confrontationalist ideas are being reiterated by various strategic information centres and think tanks and, with the blessing of AFL-CIO leaders, they are being instilled in the international trade union movement.

In their relations with the trade union centres of 145 countries, the Soviet trade unions are doing their utmost to create an atmosphere of confidence and promote dialogue. Their work in the International Labour Organization, the World Federation of Trade Unions and international sectoral trade union associations pursues the same goal.

The forms cooperation takes differ widely. For instance, last year we were visited by a Peace Ship from Japan. Large groups of workers came to the U.S.S.R. from the F.R.G., Austria, Greece, Cyprus, Denmark and Luxemburg.

The Soviet trade unions are actively involved in the worldwide campaign "Workers and Trade Unions for Peace and Jobs." They are also working to establish an international centre for workers' rights and trade union freedoms. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and its research centres have been contributing to research into the socio-economic consequences of the arms race on Earth and in space. We believe that only consistent and concerted action by trade unions, regardless of their orientation, to exert powerful pressure on militarists and reactionaries can produce results.

Dialogue and concerted action are also important in resolving other global problems confronting labour today. Among these are the threat of ecological crisis, the establishment of just international economic relations and the effect of scientific and technological progress on labour and production.

Solidarity is a potent factor in strengthening trade union positions and promoting understanding and confidence in international relations. At his meeting with a delegation from the World Federation of Trade Unions, Mikhail Gorbachev dealt with the responsibility of the international working-class movement for the preservation of peace and the solution of other outstanding problems. He also touched on these matters in his address to the congress of Soviet trade unions.

The WFTU delegation delivered a message from the 11th World Trade Union Congress to the Soviet leader*. The congress resolutions stated that the prevention of another world war, ending the arms race, and new political and economic relations between nations were the outstanding prerequisites for success in resolving social problems.

The unbridled aggressiveness of big business, which has been capitalizing on scientific and technological progress, mass unemployment and reformist ideology to stifle the trade unions, calls for joint rebuff.

Some Western trade union leaders, fettered by old and stereotyped thinking, are only coming to realize this slowly and with great difficulty. But the situation is changing. This is evidenced in particular by increasing bilateral contacts at sectoral trade union and local branch level.

It has become imperative for the trade unions to discuss practical ways of furthering cooperation in science and technology, and protecting the environment both in Europe and elsewhere. It is high time the trade unions found ways and means of countering the anti-labour policies of the transnational corporations and took part in outlining plans for the regearing of specific industries to peaceful production.

We favour broad-based cooperation with all workers' organizations on principles of equality and mutual respect. It is important to note that it is becoming possible today to switch over from separate, uncoordinated statements, declarations and actions to parallel, joint campaigns at sectoral, regional and international levels. To achieve that, it is necessary to discard the stereotyped confrontational thinking of the past. ■

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* The message from the 11th World Trade Union Congress was also handed to Perez de Cuellar, U.N. Secretary-General. U.S. President Ronald Reagan refused to receive the WFTU delegation.

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?
AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

King Hussein:
NOT ONLY POSSIBLE BUT A MUST

King Hussein ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Though individual human beings are basically decent and peace-loving, yet humanity as a whole has been plagued throughout recorded history by an affliction of war and the use of force. These destructive courses of action were followed in pursuit of conceived national objectives irrespective of the human suffering visited on both the aggressor and the victim.

Divine revelations and various human approaches were advanced to arrest this development. Unfortunately, not much success was achieved in the field of the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Our present century has witnessed two major and very devastating wars, the last of which witnessed the annihilation of Nagasaki and Hiroshima by atomic weapons. The advent of the atomic and nuclear era brought the sober realization that things cannot continue as before. The very survival of humanity is now at stake. The total devastation visited on the two Japanese cities in 1945 added a much needed impetus to the common search for a really effective mechanism to promote international cooperation and collective security and arrest the trend for war and the use of force. Subsequently, the United Nations Organization was founded out of the ashes to provide such a framework and to serve as the collective conscience of mankind.

We believe that strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the free will of the member states to abide by its resolutions constitute the best guarantee for our globe and the continued existence and survival of mankind.

Thus peace becomes not only possible without nuclear arms but a "must" and top priority in the nuclear age. Under these circumstances there cannot be a limited or a "winnable" war. Mutual and assured destruction to all is the logical aftermath of a nuclear holocaust.

Thus humanity must continue in its efforts to eliminate these weapons of awesome destruction. Arms disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, should top the agenda of every state, organization or individual. The close to one trillion dollars spent each year on arms should be channelled to meet the pressing needs of mankind. It is an illusion, and a very dangerous one at that, to assume that the accumulation of more nuclear weapons and the perfection of their delivery systems and destructiveness will lead to better or enhanced security. On the contrary, the nuclear arms race leads, with the passage of time, to more and more entrants to this gruesome race.

A free-for-all nuclear capability will lead, by design or accident, to the realization of the very danger that the majority of mankind is seeking to eliminate. While we support all efforts aimed at the reduction and ultimate elimination of all nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons, we also demand that the security of non-nuclear states should be safeguarded against the nuclear threat. This is particularly relevant and very pressing in the case of the Middle East (where Israel has joined the nuclear club) and Africa (where the racist South African regime has attained a nuclear capacity with which to threaten the people of Africa).

We pray that nuclear weapons that rose a threat to us all will be, at the same time, the driving force behind a sustained and collective international effort to free humanity from this ever present threat in order to devote our abundant resources to the urgent task of meeting the challenges that face us all. ■

Karl Bildt:
STABILITY PRESUPPOSES EQUILIBRIUM

Karl Bildt, a prominent Swedish politician and Riksdag deputy, is leader of the Moderate Party.

The stock of knowledge man has acquired will always be with him. As a result of progress in nuclear physics, we shall always live in a world where we cannot rule out the possible use of the atom for destructive purposes.

For that reason, I do not think a world without nuclear arms likely. Instead, we must devise an international system of stability whereby neither the existence of these arms nor the chance of any new state coming to possess them would threaten the world.

Stability presupposes equilibrium. Military stability based on equilibrium is conducive to political cooperation. Any military imbalance could lead to a temptation to exploit it to further political ends, in which case the world would be in jeopardy.

A drastic reduction in U.S. and Soviet offensive ballistic nuclear systems, combined with substantial curbs on defensive strategic systems, would provide a better foundation for a more stable world than the one in which we are living today. ■

Frans Lurvink:

CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF TRUST

Frans Lurvink is president of the Netherlands Alerdinck Foundation Centre for East-West Communications.

I consider the issue of creating a nuclear-free world the second most important that confronts us, as our first imperative must be to create an atmosphere of trust between East and West. The reasons for the arms race must be eliminated. These are not simply that the two systems are very dissimilar but that, more importantly, the people living within these two systems do not understand each other's mentality, or the functioning of the other system.

For three years I have been arranging meetings between journalists from East and West. Each time I realize that the Americans don't understand the Russians, and the Russians don't understand the Americans. Yet they have much in common. Both countries are politically young. We West Europeans have a longer history, and for this reason I think we understand both the Russians and the Americans better.

A nuclear-free world is first and foremost a world of mutual understanding in which the representatives of both systems have a clear idea of how the opposing system develops and operates. When this understanding has been reached, it will be obvious that in reality the differences between East and West are not so very great and can be overcome. Then nuclear arms will be unnecessary.

I think nuclear weapons should be destroyed. They are a threat not only to people in the East and the West, but to mankind as a whole. Yet unless East and West cooperate to destroy these weapons, it will be impossible to monitor the emergence of nuclear weapons in, for instance, Libya, Egypt, Israel, Pakistan and India. Dozens of countries will become nuclear powers within the next twenty, or, perhaps, even ten, years. Some of them are small, and not infrequently their governments change annually. That would be far more dangerous than nuclear weapons in the hands of Gorbachev and Reagan, who are after all both reasonable men.

East and West must take the first steps towards a united world. It is incumbent on them to come to terms, reach agreement and announce that war is no longer possible.

One further reason the West stockpiles arms is its lack of information as to what is happening in the Soviet Union. The view is current with us that the Soviet Union is not "transparent" enough and that at the very least a stethoscope is needed to find out what is going on there. This makes us nervous and, as we do not know what is taking place, we arm ourselves to meet any contingency.

In this respect Mikhail Gorbachev is doing something extremely important with his policy of openness. It is perhaps even more important than a nuclear arms agreement. It shows us the Soviet Union as it really is, with all the mistakes and problems that confront it. That breeds confidence.

Nuclear arms are unquestionably lethal. But conventional arms are not harmless either. Consequently, both types must be cut. We must learn to live in a world without wars. We must get used to the idea that we can no longer do otherwise. ■

Rudolf Agsten:

POLITICAL WILL REQUIRED

Dr Rudolf Agsten is a member of the Political Commission, secretary of the Central Board of the German Liberal Democratic Party and a member of the Presidium of the G.D.R. People's Chamber.

How do I imagine the framework of international stability? Certainly not as a military framework. In this nuclear-space age no international issue can be decided from a position of strength. Armed confrontation would result in the annihilation of the human race. A distinctive feature of the new thinking should be an awareness that pressing global issues can only be resolved for the benefit of humanity through peaceful coexistence. It is this position that sets the tone for the socialist states in the international arena.

Stability in international affairs will be possible if the ruling quarters in the U.S. and other countries also come to understand that peaceful coexistence—which, incidentally, will not only benefit the socialist states, as is so often claimed, but is in the interests of the capitalist countries as well—represents the sole guarantee of humanity's survival.

It would then be possible, having drafted a whole complex of bilateral and multilateral agreements in the fields of the economy, science and culture, to tackle jointly those major issues on the agenda today that are specifically due to the rapid progress in science and technology and the extremely dramatic situation in the developing countries. ■

Rasheeduddin Khan:

NEEDED: RENAISSANCE IN THINKING

Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan of India's Jawaharlal Nehru University attended the Moscow anti-nuclear forum.

I have a dual perception of the present situation. In the first place I fear a possible nuclear catastrophe, inevitable unless the leaders of the great powers end the senseless arms race. This insanity derives not only from an abnormal mentality, but also from the lunatic doctrine of mutually assured destruction. My fear also stems from the fact that far from diminishing, the arms race is assuming increasingly new forms. An apposite instance is afforded by the militarization of space behind the fig leaf of SDI.

The poster that M. Morita of Japan entered for the international competition For Peace and Social Progress

On the other hand, my hopes of positive change are growing. Your country has come out with a whole range of disarmament initiatives. It is enough to recall Mikhail Gorbachev's January 15, 1986, statement which the U.S. and other NATO states should examine most carefully. We should likewise recall the proposal of the Delhi Six for a nuclear test ban, the reduction of nuclear arsenals, and the prevention of space militarization.

Up to now a world without nuclear arms has been only an ideal. True, nuclear weapons are not being used today and the emphasis is on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. But as accidents at atomic power plants have shown, tragedies cannot be ruled out. Incidentally, ordinary chemical processes are also dangerous. It is enough to recall the Bhopal disaster. For that matter conventional arms constitute an enormous danger as, in the event of their large-scale use vast conflagrations will ensue. As a result, upon catching fire the plastics used in buildings and households will contaminate the atmosphere with poisonous fumes.

But the greatest danger emanates from nuclear weapons. Hence I favour their complete abolition.

The paramount prerequisite for this is for world leaders to show political will. At Geneva and Reykjavik, the Soviet Union demonstrated its ability to surmount prejudice. Unfortunately I cannot say the same of the U.S. administration, which is obsessed with Soviet "aggressiveness" and "expansionism." Hence the erroneous policy the U.S. is pursuing. Were public opinion in the U.S. capable of changing that policy, all of humanity would benefit. However, many Americans know nothing of the Soviet Union's love of peace and, generally speaking, know little about the U.S.S.R.

For that reason, the propagation of truthful information around the world is an essential precondition for nuclear disarmament. The education system should also contribute by promoting the value of peace and coexistence. I believe a new Renaissance in world culture is vital. We must recognize and accept the multifarious and pluralistic character of the world in the domains of culture, the economy and ideology, and differences in the social sphere. The overriding principle on earth must be to persuade, not to coerce. Wars begin in human minds, they say. I think a nuclear-free world should likewise be conceived in human minds. ■

Niko Schvarz:

COLOSSAL PARADOX

Niko Schvarz, an Uruguayan journalist, is on the editorial board of the newspaper La Hora.

All of us would like to see a future without war.

What is the essence of the enormous paradox in the contemporary international situation? Scientific and technological progress holds out an unprecedented prospect of a better quality of life for everyone and the eradication of epidemics and disease, along with the hunger and illiteracy inherited from the exploiting regimes, colonialism and neocolonialism. But modern technology is capable of eradicating not only these ulcers but also humanity itself.

Two concrete objectives face Latin America. The first is by supporting the peacemaking activities of the Contadora group to prevent war from breaking out in Central America and U.S. troops from invading Nicaragua. The second is to prevent the immediate spread of the nuclear threat to the south of our continent through the establishment of military bases on the Malvinas and Easter Island. For it is in this way that militarist forces are seeking to circumvent the Tlatelolco Treaty, which sets forth Latin America's nuclear-free status. ■

That morning and the three following days the Cosmos Hotel in Moscow lived up to its name as never before. It was the meeting place of more than a thousand delegates from over eighty countries. They represented all the arts, sciences and professions. It was a truly cosmic gathering. Here one could meet new film stars and luminaries of old Hollywood. At the entrance to the hotel throngs of young autograph hunters besieged Gregory Peck. In the lobby stood the singer and composer Yoko Ono, aloof and with that aura of the distant East that did not isolate her from those around her but rather gave her a look of quiet abstraction. Film director Milos Forman passed by practically unnoticed, like most of the participants in the forum.

I catch myself rubbing shoulders with all sort of celebrities without giving any thought to who they are. I look closer, and suddenly I recognize Maria Schell, Maria Volonté and also Marina Vlady whose Russian beauty has blossomed to the full with the years. I see a man using his hands to help convey his ideas and I recognize Costa Gavras. The whole cinema world is here, not excluding Klaus Maria Brandauer, the demonic Mephisto of the film of that name. Without doubt the most colourful of them all is Peter Ustinov who is constantly in the focus of the TV cameras. He answers questions partly in Russian, partly in English. I marvel at his erudition and charm. The assumption that most movie actors are fascinating but shallow people is wrong. That myth is definitely dispelled by what they have to say at the forum and how they say it.

The Cosmos is naturally inconceivable without cosmonauts. And sure enough here is the space traveller Georgi Grechko chatting with a writer who knows that the Earth is no paradise but could very well be one. The writer is Graham Greene. At the final gathering in the Kremlin, Greene, having in mind his own Catholic faith, observed that in the course of his life he had devoted much attention to Latin America where the religious work together with the Marxists.

I have suddenly realized that, following my personal inclinations, I have been focussing my attention here on artists and writers. At the forum, however, there were eight parallel sections or round tables devoted to the various professions. For instance, at the science round table a Harvard University professor voiced his fears that man might use his knowledge to the detriment of humankind, for the development of lethal weapons.

In another meeting hall the discussion revolved around the danger hanging not only over man but also over the house he lives in and without

The well-known political analyst from Chile on the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind"

Change to a Scenario of Peace

VOLODIA TEITELBOIM

which his existence is inconceivable—Nature. We must all be ecologists.

For several unforgettable days the Cosmos Hotel played host to all professions, all ideologies, all religions—united by the common awareness that the human race must not be destroyed. And that danger does exist today at the threshold of the 21st century, that is, if the war machine, the military-industrial complex, allows itself to be blinded by what for it is the most profitable business deal of all time. Should that happen, it might very well be that in the next century dollars might no longer be in circulation for the simple and terrible reason that there will be no one left to use them.

The nuclear weapon can only serve the purposes of the protagonists of the present unjust state of affairs, a feature of which is the bombshell of the developing countries' foreign debt that is bound to explode sooner or later. When this question was discussed at the forum, Fidel Castro seemed to be present in spirit and Mikhail Gorbachev was there in the flesh. How, the Soviet leader asked, could one go on living calmly in a world where three quarters of the countries are fettered by debts they can never repay, while a small handful of states act as the omnipotent usurers?

"All men are mortal" is an axiom of elementary philosophy or, rather, formal logic. The danger of our time consists in the fact that the life span of everyone of us might be cut short simultaneously, in other words, all mankind could be destroyed in a matter of hours or days in a nuclear holocaust.

As Mikhail Gorbachev said in his address to the forum, "man has always searched for the elixir of life. Each of us finds it hard to resign himself to his personal mortality. But it is impossible to resign ourselves to the idea of mankind and human intelligence being finite." It was not just a philosophical idea, but a matter of telling mankind the truth about what it is facing at the present time. "The 'nuclear safeguard' is neither foolproof nor everlasting," he said. "It can at any moment become a death sentence for mankind. **The more nuclear weapons there are, the less chance there is of their 'obedient behaviour.'"**

As if in a third-rate film script, President Reagan got the idea of carrying war from Earth to outer space. This was brought up at a discussion in the Cosmos Hotel. In the absence of an agreement that would save the galaxy from nuclear annihilation, the President has proposed concluding an American-Soviet agreement jointly to repulse an invasion from other planets...

I must admit that the Cosmos Hotel is so vast that one can easily get lost in the labyrinths of its corridors. That is how I chanced on a round-table meeting to which I clearly did not belong. Somewhat bewildered at first, I gradually caught on to the subject of the discussion. An Argentinian scientist had the floor. After that, Academician Andrei Sakharov was announced, and I realized that it was not a meeting of actors and writers. I listened with interest and respect to his brief communication.

A wide variety of opinions was voiced at the forum in quest of a key to the survival of humanity through the medium of dialogue. During an intermission, I caught hold of Ariadne's thread in an effort to find my way in the labyrinth. I took the escalator to the second floor and at last found the crowded hall in which the section I searched for was in session. Graham Greene was winding up his speech. He spoke, like everyone else, without notes, and with his usual English humour. He was followed by the American writer Norman Mailer. The keynote of the forum was the need to create a new peace mentality to counteract the arms race which, he said, was a negation of human reason and being. The author of "Naked and the Dead" and "The Executioner's Song" urged the need to "change the stage props," i.e., to change the image of the Soviet Union created in the United States not without the help of all manner of individuals vested with enormous power to make decisions.

It is, of course, hard to forget that it was Reagan who called the U.S.S.R. "the empire of evil." While rehearsing one of his radio speeches, he said, whether in earnest or in jest, that in five minutes he would order the war against the Soviet Union to begin.

In the United States there is a machinery for implanting fear. Not long ago I read an article in the International Herald Tribune by John Mack, director of the Centre for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age. It was about something that is being widely discussed in America, in the U.S.S.R. and the world generally—the TV serial "Amerika" which depicts the United States in 1997, "ten years after the Soviet invasion." This insane but extremely intriguing subject set the American scientist pondering on the responsibility of the mass media in the nuclear age.

Norman Mailer spoke of the outrageous stereotypes designed to breed fear and hatred of other nations, and to accustom people to the idea that one day the button will have to be pressed in order to prevent what is shown in the film from happening. New scenario is indeed badly needed. And so are scenarios for a secure world so as to avoid the ultimate catastrophe. The American novelist added that he had come to the forum prompted by the conviction that Gorbachev's proposals offered great opportunities for hindering the death merchants from carrying their plans to completion. Mailer does not want a nuclear collision. He believes it will be possible to avoid a fatal end.

Another well-known American writer, Gore Vidal, recalled that Reagan in his Hollywood days played the part of a CIA agent several times. One of his characters spoke about installing a stabilizer of terrestrial gravitation. We have been hearing the same story for fifty years, Vidal added. He said that Mikhail Gorbachev reminded him of his boyhood hero, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Thus, the most diverse opinions were voiced at the Cosmos Hotel. People here spoke freely about everything. The atmosphere was one of both wild flights of fancy and the most down-to-earth reality. The sceptics, of course, might have regarded the final speech of the Soviet leader as fantasy. For he again urged that the next century be ushered in without nuclear weapons, and this means that in the remaining 13 or 14 years we have to pave the way to universal disarmament. To beat swords into ploughshares has been man's dream through the centuries. Today it is a matter not of swords or of David's slingshot, or even of Don Quixote's pike, but of the nuclear bomb. Today we are faced with the choice between the elimination of nuclear weapons and the destruction of all mankind. The Moscow forum opted for the former. This is only the initial step. A thousand more steps must be taken throughout the world. There must be a dialogue between individuals, peoples and countries. The scenario of hate must be changed for one of peace.

AFGHANISTAN

Reconciliation and Its Enemies

● THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION HAS MET WITH WIDESPREAD POPULAR SUPPORT.

What! A militarized mentality! Nothing of the sort! I'm used to dealing with intellectuals, you know!

Cartoon by V. Arsenyev

Since January 15, when the cease-fire announced by Kabul went into force and government troops started to observe it, men who only yesterday had carried out bandit raids from mountain hideouts have been surrendering almost daily in various provinces. Often whole groups give themselves up. According to Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil, who gave a news conference in Moscow on February 20, nearly 15,000 men have laid down their arms, 400 rebel groups are observing the cease-fire, and hundreds of anti-government groups have contacted the authorities.

Repatriation is increasing dramatically. Despite the obstruction placed in the way of refugees who had fled to Pakistan and Iran, some 25,000 have already returned home. The Afghan government has set up a special bureau to arrange for their reception and provide them with the necessary assistance, material and otherwise. A Washington Post correspondent who visited the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan reported marked impatience to get back to normal life.

Under the amnesty decree, many who had perpetrated hostile acts against the people's government have been released from prison. The Afghan authorities have allowed International Red Cross officials to visit those who are still being held and talk with them privately. Religious circles have welcomed the opening of an Islamic Research Centre in Kabul as a major development.

In short, the People's Democratic Party and the Afghan government are showing good will and firm intention to secure peace by political means, through extensive national dialogue and compromise with all patriots.

As for the other side, the leaders of the more rabid counterrevolutionary factions entrenched in Peshawar, Pakistan, immediately rejected proposals for a cease-fire, dialogue and the creation of coalition government bodies and a coalition government. The bands they control inside Afghanistan continue to shell and machine-gun administrative centres, attack garrisons and carry out acts of sabotage. They detonated a powerful bomb outside the Indian embassy in Kabul, murdered the chairman of the Kunduz provincial reconciliation commission and shot down a civil aircraft in the vicinity of Khost, killing all 36 passengers and the crew. By means of unremitting terror, the extremists are trying to torpedo the expanding national dialogue, and in this they have the full backing of Washington, which is stepping up supplies of arms, including Stinger missiles. At its meeting on February 17, the U.S. Congress

special commission on Afghanistan said outright that the United States would continue to support the counter-revolutionaries.

Under the circumstances, government troops are of course compelled to resist. Addressing the Extraordinary Supreme Commission on National Reconciliation, General Secretary Najib of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, said:

"All who continue to talk with us in the language of gunfire can expect crushing retaliation. The enemy is forcing us to answer with fire. However, despite these hostilities, we shall follow our elected path towards the establishment of peace in the country."

This bold policy should also expedite a political settlement in the region. More specifically, it should contribute to the success of the Afghan-Pakistani talks, of which the seventh round has started in Geneva. The Soviet Union is prepared to do everything in its power to enable the situation in the region to return to normal as soon as possible, as was again confirmed during Afghan Premier S.A. Keshtmand's recent visit to Moscow. The sooner this happens the sooner Soviet troops will be pulled out of Afghanistan.

The ball is now in the court of those who are loth to abandon their interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan people.

ALEXANDER USVATOV

U.S.A.—POLAND

From Illusions to Reality

● WASHINGTON HAS LIFTED ITS SANCTIONS AGAINST POLAND.

U.S. President Reagan has announced the repeal of the two most recent, five-year-old economic sanctions, which had been a grave impediment to the bilateral relationship. The discriminatory customs tariffs that blocked Polish exports to the U.S. are no longer in force and the ban on granting credits to Poland has likewise been lifted.

In effect, the U.S. administration's ruling has revealed the bankruptcy of the protracted policy of sanctions, intimidation, and interference in Poland's internal affairs. By means of a dozen or so embargoes in various areas of bilateral cooperation, the U.S. tried to impede the development of the Polish People's Republic. The U.S. government appeal to its European allies to end their dialogue with Poland, and Washington's wholehearted support for anti-socialist elements had a similar aim.

The Reagan administration's embargoes did considerable economic damage to Poland. However, the U.S. failed to isolate it from the world community. In the dark hours of crisis we were given financial and material assistance by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The help of our friends was an important factor in Poland's subsequent socio-economic development. Moreover, the U.S. allies chose to look to their own political and economic interests rather than succumb to pressure from Washington. This is illustrated by our uninterrupted cooperation with Scandinavia and Belgium, Britain, France and Japan, as well as by the results of Jaruzelski's recent visit to Italy.

Washington's policy of intervention in Poland's internal affairs has also been a failure. There will be no return to the situation that obtained prior to August 1980, or to that which had emerged by December 1981. The outcome of events has been national accord on the basis of the principles of socialist democracy.

The Polish government has expressed pleasure that the illegal sanctions have been repealed. We see this as a point of departure for furthering our bilateral relationship. The lifting of the discriminatory embargoes should likewise eliminate one factor detrimental to the East-West relationship overall. Like all socialist states People's Poland has a stake in détente and a return to mutually advantageous economic partnership.

WLODZIMIERZ LOZINSKI
Trybuna Ludu news analyst

Warsaw

MIDDLE EAST

"Old Friends" at It Again

● THE ARAB PEOPLES HAVE LONG KNOWN FROM BITTER EXPERIENCE THAT WHENEVER ONE OR OTHER ISRAELI PREMIER VISITS WASHINGTON, THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST DRASTICALLY DETERIORATES.

That this is so is again borne out by Itzhak Shamir's recent U.S. visit. He was given red-carpet treatment at the White House, with President Reagan calling him "an old friend" and his visit "a symbol of the close, special relationship" between the two countries. Not to be outdone, Itzhak Shamir called the U.S. President the "leader of the free world."

But there was more than mere mutual admiration. The U.S. President agreed to grant Israel the status of "a major ally" which, in practice, means that it will enjoy the same powers as NATO countries. Tel Aviv will now receive U.S. weapons and materiel on still easier terms, the U.S. will increase its aid for the construction of military bases, and Israel will participate in U.S. military research on a broader scale. Israel is already getting about $3 billion annually from the U.S., more than any other country.

In statements on the outcome of the visit, both Reagan and Shamir reemphasized "identity of aims and interests" in the Middle East. However, sensationalist Western news media have played up a certain difference between the "old friends." The U.S. has given vague approval to the idea of an international conference on the Middle East, long favoured by the Soviet Union and many Arab countries. Israel, on the other hand, is demanding that neither the U.S.S.R., the Palestine Liberation Organization or Syria be represented, which would make the conference meaningless. However, this divergence of views is factitious. It is being sensationally presented as a change in U.S. policy, but it should instead be regarded as a propaganda ploy to deceive the Arab public. By sending Tel Aviv money and arms, Washington is giving it the right of veto with regard to any settlement in the Middle East. After his halfhearted support for an international conference, Reagan immediately assured Shamir that the U.S. would steadily continue to back Israel's own efforts to ensure its security and prosperity. Washington again unreservedly supported Israel's policy of so-called "direct bilateral talks," which, given its occupation of Arab territories, would amount to an Arab surrender along Camp David lines.

U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation is not confined to the Middle East. The "old friends" exchanged not only courtesies, but also anti-Soviet sallies. Shamir stressed Israel's preparedness to participate most vigorously in the "star wars" programme. Manifestly proud of his contribution to the exacerbation of international tension, he repeated that he was willing to open a powerful relay station for the Voice of America in Israel.

Before Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 it was Shamir, in his capacity as Foreign Minister in the Begin cabinet, who got the go-ahead for aggression from Washington. Today, however, Washington is itself preparing for armed provocation against Lebanon. It has moved up its Sixth Fleet and is ready to land Marines. It is hardly conceivable that in the course of Shamir's latest visit to Washington concerted actions against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples were not discussed. American and world public opinion is being suitably conditioned. A State Department spokesman cynically laid responsibility for the tragedy in Lebanon at the door of its own government and people, claiming that the "wild anarchy" that is rife there is isolating Lebanon from the rest of the world. In fact the world knows that the U.S. and Israel have long been sowing the seeds of internecine strife in Lebanon, and exploiting it to their own ends. No one believes that the present aggravation of the situation in Lebanon coincided by chance with Washington's attempt to find pretext for intervention.

No wonder both Washington and Tel Aviv were discomfited to learn that Syrian troops had been asked to enter West Beirut. This may serve to normalize the situation and will certainly complicate any armed intervention of the "old friends" in the Lebanese conflict.

Since Shamir's visit to the U.S. there have been reports of Israeli troops massing on the Lebanese border. This is accompanied by outright threats of intervention. Meanwhile, the puppet "army of South Lebanon" is inciting fresh clashes with Lebanese national patriotic forces.

All the indications are that the parties in the "strategic alliance" are again demonstrating identity of purposes and methods in the Middle East, by relying on state terrorism and power politics.

ANDREI OSTALSKY

U.S.A.—SOUTH KOREA

Team Spirit-87

● THE TRADITIONAL MILITARISTIC MARATHON CODE-NAMED TEAM SPIRIT BEGAN LAST MONTH.

Upwards of 200,000 U.S. and South Korean troops and aircraft units are taking part along with the strike air group of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. Forces from U.S. bases in Japan, the Philippines and Hawaii are being moved by air and sea to South Korea. The war games are to last till the beginning of May.

For the twelfth year in succession South Korea is being used for joint military exercises on an unprecedented scale. Almost five times as many troops are participating today than in the first of the Team Spirit series of manoeuvres in 1976, which involved some 46,000 men.

With each successive year, the perfecting of "preemptive strikes," which Pentagon officials say are incorporated in the Team Spirit-87 scenario, is increasingly reminiscent of a rehearsal for aggression. This is illustrated more specifically by the fact that moving contingents of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force to South Korea has been planned as part of the exercise.

The significance of these latest war games goes far beyond the framework of Washington's Far Eastern and Asian strategy. Team Spirit is to help coordinate the actions of the Rapid Deployment Force in large-scale operations and optimize tactics for the transfer of large military contingents over great distances.

The joint U.S.-South Korean exercises.

From the magazine Time (U.S.)

The Pentagon would not of course be permitted, either in Western Europe or, for that matter, Japan, to conduct such operations for the duration of almost two months. It can only do so in South Korea, whose pro-American regime is constantly crying "wolf" with respect to the notorious "threat from the North." The "threat from the North" is really there, but it is not a military one. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has undertaken a peaceful offensive in inviting Seoul to take part in constructive dialogue with a view to reducing tensions throughout the peninsula and the region generally. As for Seoul, in February 1986 South Korea responded to Pyongyang's suggestion not to hold large-scale military exercises by announcing the start of Team Spirit-86. Some months after the Democratic People's Republic of Korea suggested making the peninsula a nuclear-free zone, it was learned that the U.S. planned to deploy Lance missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads in South Korea.

On February 19, the day the exercises began, South Korean ground forces chief of staff Pak Hee Doo warmly supported Japan's military effort during talks with the leaders of that country's Defence Agency. While in Japan, the South Korean general will watch "snowbound" exercises by the 7th division of the ground Self-Defence Forces based in Hokkaido. The newspaper Sankei Shimbun has noted in this connection that at the close of last year there were joint Japanese-U.S. war games in Hokkaido in which U.S. troops based in South Korea took part for the first time.

It is clear that Team Spirit's sponsors are continuing to flout all demands for genuine security and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific.

SERGEI TIKHOMIROV

February 26 is a day of solidarity with the struggle of the people of Colombia against reaction

Victims of Condor

ALEXANDER BARYSHEV

"You have to learn to live with death," many Colombians told Le Monde correspondent Marcel Niedergand in Bogota. The formula, notes the French journalist who has closely studied the Colombian situation, "reflects at once the fatalism and the will to survive of a dynamic society which, while not resigned, harbours no illusions about the outcome of this infernal cycle."

"The infernal cycle" is the rash of murders and kidnappings sweeping Colombia. Since Liberal President Virgilio Barco Vargas took office some six months ago, the country has seen an outburst of violence. The International Red Cross and local organizations report dozens of murders and disappearances every month. Among the victims are political and trade union leaders, journalists, lawyers and priests.

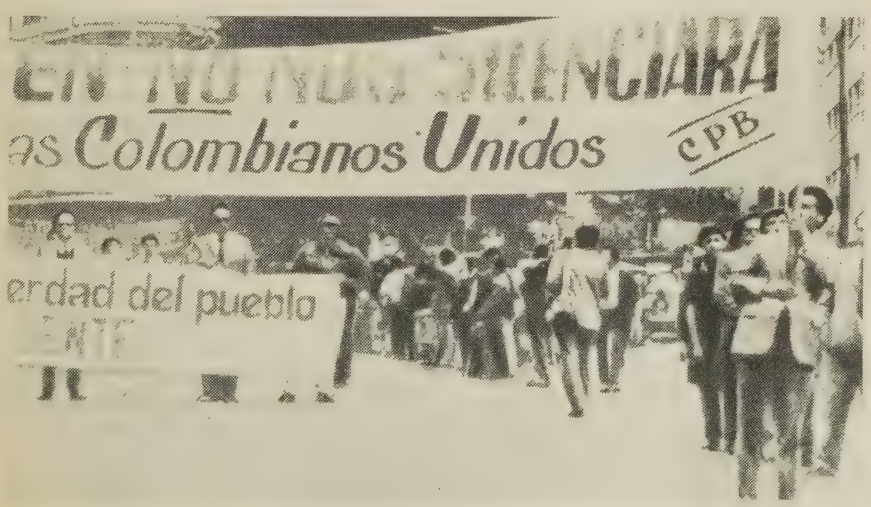
"Who is killing whom? It is hard to answer that question in the maelstrom of blood, revolutionary sentiment and settling of accounts," writes Marcel Niedergand. "In the first place, violence is an integral, almost commonplace feature of life in Colombia accepted by everyone, although ritually condemned by the authorities, politicians, churchmen and intellectuals."

Some local reactionary leaders claim that the root cause of the violence is the "expansionism of certain countries." Such statements are accompanied by crude anti-communist attacks. But, of course, one cannot agree with the French correspondent's contention that violence is commonplace and accepted by everyone in Colombia.

Violence does have a tradition in Colombia. Over the past three decades armed clashes have flared up time and again. Peasants have more than once offered armed resistance to government troops. But this is not to suggest that the Colombian peasant, generally peaceful, reasonable and preoccupied with domestic concerns, is inherently violent. More often than not he has been forced to exchange his hoe for a rifle to defend his patch of land, drenched with the sweat of his brow, against encroachments by landowners, oppose their terror and the atrocities of the troops. Thousands of peasants have died in the struggle to uphold their right to own land. Peasant "violence" has been a forced measure of self-defence.

This poster, which the Communist Party of Colombia put out, features pictures of several members of the Patriotic Union, victims of right-wing extremist groupings. The Communist Party urges to put an end to military violence.

A demonstration staged in Bogota in protest against reactionary terror.
From the newspaper Voz (Colombia)



On the question of "who is killing whom now"? Niedergand writes with some justice that "the most alarming wave of murders and assassination attempts has been directed at the leaders of the Patriotic Union." Their destruction has assumed a systematic character.

The current spate of violence and murders has a marked political character, aimed as it is against the Patriotic Union, a coalition of left-wing forces that includes the Communists. Founded on May 28, 1985, the coalition has emerged as Colombia's third largest political force, after the two traditional bourgeois parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, whose representatives have alternately held the office of president.

Within three months of the establish-

ment of the Patriotic Union the list of its heroes and martyrs ran to 70 names. In recent months, about three hundred active members of the union have been murdered. Among them were a member of the House of Representatives, a senator, four members of departmental legislative bodies and 20 municipal councillors. The thirteen Patriotic Union members of parliament are under constant threat of death.

The Sinister Hand

On January 11, the body of Antonio Cordova, leader of the Patriotic Union in the city of Boyaca, was discovered. His deputy testified that the day before Cordova had been detained by police in La Sierra and handed over to the Administrative Security Board (political police).

The leadership of the Patriotic Union described the incident as a link in the chain of murders under the Condor plan. This statement makes one recall a top-secret supranational terrorist organization known in Latin America as the Condor. The press has often reported its links with the U.S. secret services. More often than not it operates through front organizations, including secret services and local terrorist bands. There is a "service for the liquidation" of people considered undesirable by the reactionaries. The sinister hand of the Condor can be discerned in the assassinations of left-wingers in Colombia.

Death Squads and Their Allies

In Latin America, when the blame for a crime is apportioned, a distinction is usually made between the "material" crime and the "moral" crime. The "moral" criminal is the one who masterminds and covers up the crime. The "material" criminal is the person who carries it out. Who in Colombia are the material and the moral criminals?

The assassinations of the Patriotic Union leaders are carried out by right-wing extremist death squads calling themselves Red Berets, Big Needles and so on. At least 12 paramilitary groups of this kind are known to be active in the country. They have never been brought to book for their crimes.

These thugs' "moral" mentors are to be found among senior members of the armed forces, it is believed in Bogota. The spate of murders is to a large extent the result of military interference in politics, local observers feel. The military look to Pinochet and the Argentine military junta as models. They have reacted badly to the cease-fire the country's former president Belisario Betancur signed in August 1984 with the Revolutionary Armed Forces and other guerrilla organizations.* At that time the state of siege was lifted and an amnesty for political prisoners was announced. Many top army officers opposed talks with the guerrillas and claimed that the only way to achieve peace in the country was to destroy the guerrillas by force of arms. This provided the basis for a rapprochement between reactionary officers and the political right. Not long ago the republic's prosecutor-general revealed that 59 servicemen had links with the extreme right-wing organization MAS. Although these officers were named, none of them lost their commissions.

Le Monde Diplomatique concludes that the idea of "total destruction of the opposition" is widely subscribed to in influential circles in the country.

Conspiracy Against Democracy

One of the immediate aims of the political terror now sweeping Colombia is to disrupt the peace talks started under Betancur. The president proceeded from the assumption that violence had deep social, economic and political roots and could only be eradicated by political reforms.

His opponents have declared that Betancur "conceded victory to armed opposition." This lost him some supporters even within his own Conservative Party.

Attempts to present the assassinations in Colombia as a result of the feuds between drug merchants or the settling of accounts between rebel groups do not hold water. The thugs have one concrete target—the Patriotic Union. The opponents of democratization dread the prospect of the coalition emerging as a powerful force consistently advocating political reconciliation between the government and the guerrillas. Behind the murderers stand those who want to undermine the process of national reconciliation. The killing of members and supporters of the Patriotic Union is, according to President Virgilio Barco, a conspiracy against peace and democratic institutions in the country.

There is a strong impression that in seeking to weaken the present government and bring it into confrontation with democratic forces, right-wing quarters in Colombia are motivated in part by international political factors. They are playing up to the Reagan administration, which is displeased with Colombia's membership of the Contadora group, and are trying to make Bogota take a stand against Nicaragua.

But one cannot learn to live with death. ■

* Among the guerrilla organizations long active in Colombia are the April 19 Movement, the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and others.

On a hot January morning two helicopters with members of the diplomatic corps and Khmer and foreign journalists on board took off from Pochentong airport in Pnompenh and headed for the country's western province of Battambang. Our destination was the town of Poipet on the border with Thailand. It used to be a railway and motorway junction through which brisk trade was conducted with Kampuchea's western neighbour. Now it is guarded by the People's Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea (PRAK) and the Vietnamese volunteers who protect Kampuchea's border from the constant attempts by Khmer reactionaries to make sabotage raids from Thai territory.

The ancient land of Angkor is very beautiful from above. Yellowing rice paddies, blue rivulets and brown irrigation ditches, mountains covered with emerald jungle, and villages and towns inhabited by people who have lived through so much suffering, and are building a new life and fighting those who interfere with their peaceful work. The Thailand border now forms the front line of that struggle.

The helicopters landed on a football ground in a village ten kilometres from Poipet. We boarded a bus with the poetic name of The Rose of Battambang and headed for the frontier escorted by two armoured vehicles. The highway was bordered by strips of cleared jungle and scorched grass. A PRAK soldier who was accompanying us said it was a normal precaution. The roadside vegetation had been destroyed to stop the Pol Pot men approaching the highway or the nearby railway line to plant mines. The highway is heavily guarded as it is the lifeline for supplies to the units located on the border. Food, ammunition and even water have to be brought.

The ruins of houses with gaping windows appeared in the distance. We drove into Poipet, passing a once beautiful building with bas-reliefs showing dancing girls. It was formerly a city bank, we were told by our guides, and now PRAK soldiers are billeted here. There are virtually no civilians in the town.

Two masts flying flags appeared ahead of us. One was the flag of people's Kampuchea, and the other that of the Kingdom of Thailand, separated by a distance of under a hundred metres. Thai soldiers viewed us through binoculars from an observation post in a tree. It was probably the first time they had seen such a large group of foreigners on the Kampuchean side. We trained our binoculars, video and

Protecting the Republic

Report from the Kampuchea-Thailand border

TV cameras on them. When they saw this, they rushed to the flagstaff and pulled down the flag. "They don't want to give you the pleasure of photographing them under their flag," said the deputy commander of the local military district incorporating this section of the border.

Presently an amplified announcer's voice reading something in Thai came from across the border. "It happens several times a day," explained our guide. "They conduct their propaganda in the Thai and Khmer languages. The soldiers are used to it, and don't pay any attention to the broadcasts, which

Saying good-bye in Pnompenh last year to the men of the Vietnamese volunteer contingent, who came to the succour of their Kampuchean brethren in their hour of trial.

Reuters—TASS telephoto

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are not noted for their variety: they cast aspersions on Kampuchean-Vietnamese friendship and extol life in Thailand."

Asked whether it was always so quiet on this section of the border, the representative of the Kampuchean command said with a smile: "It's relatively safe here, otherwise we wouldn't have brought you. But Thai Air Force planes and helicopters intrude on our air space here fairly frequently and make provocative flights over Kampuchean territory. The sections to the south and north are more dangerous because the Pol Pot bands are based on the Thai side. From time to time they try to cross into our territory and then, if it happens at night, it becomes as light as if it were daytime: Thai artillery puts up a barrage to support the intruders. That is why we are building a protective line along the border."

We were offered a look at a section of the line, a ditch and a bank with dugouts and pillboxes. The approaches to the fortifications on the Thai side are mined. At other sections, there are barbed wire fences and sharpened bamboo piles on the rampart.

The defence line is to be completed before the end of the year. The leadership of Kampuchea and its army are giving high priority to the scheme. They are allocating funds and materials and sending manpower from various provinces in the country. When completed, the line will be about 600 km. long.

We were told that the measure was necessary to prevent incursions by counterrevolutionary bands from Thai territory. It is a strictly defensive line and does not threaten the security of the neighbouring state.

Another important way of strengthening the frontier is the raising and training of border units, the function of which is currently being discharged by the PRAK land forces.

Service on the Kampuchea-Thailand border is hazardous and tough. The soldiers stay there from eighteen months to two years without leave, often under enemy fire. Supplies are erratic and malaria is not infrequent. There is also the psychological warfare waged by the Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionaries, and military provocations by Thailand such as the recent capture of heights on Kampuchean territory.

Having seen the situation on the border, we asked what was the situation in the frontier province of Battambang, the country's principal rice-growing district. We put these questions at the provincial capital of Battambang, Kampuchea's second largest city. We were told that the province's location on the border and the military provocations were of course affecting the lives of the local people. But the overall situation in the town and countryside was calm. We did not notice any signs of fighting, let alone devastation in the city. The streets are neat and clean, there are many cafés and shops open, and lively bicycle traffic. The airport, long destroyed according to the so-called Radio Democratic Kampuchea, is functioning.

However, Pol Pot bands do operate under cover of night, attacking villages and army posts, marauding and killing the local population and planting mines on the railway. All these enemy sorties are resolutely repulsed.

After the destruction of the strongholds of the Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionaries in 1984-85, all the enemy's attempts to regain its positions have failed. Last year, 1,400 Khmer reactionaries were killed in the province: the bandits have long abandoned hope of creating anything like a base or stronghold there. As many as 1,688 former counterrevolutionaries have surrendered and taken the side of the popular government.

The enemy's incursions do not disrupt the province's economic life. During the rainy season, the peasants sowed rice over more than 200,000 hectares. The areas under other food and industrial crops are increasing. The country's biggest jute factory supplies not only Battambang but other parts of the republic as well. The provincial power plant fully meets the local demand for electricity.

After visiting the Kampuchea-Thailand border, we were confirmed in our belief that the changes taking place in Kampuchea are irreversible and that the people do not want and are determined to prevent a return of the Pol Pot past. In spite of the assistance they receive from abroad, there is no place for counterrevolutionaries on Kampuchean soil.

ALEXANDER SMELYAKOV

Pnompenh

I would be very much interested to be able to read about the reaction abroad—in France, for instance—to what is going on in our country: reconstruction, democratization, the promotion of openness. I am particularly interested in the French reaction because, first of all, we have multiple links with France and, secondly, because anti-Sovietism is widespread there, inasmuch as I have been able to gather from various sources, your magazine included.

YURI ORLOV
Mytishchi, U.S.S.R

TAKING UP A POINT

BERNARD FRÉDÉRICK, L'Humanité correspondent in Moscow, replies:

Echo of Reconstruction

For a journalist, and moreover a Communist, working in Moscow today is a unique stroke of fortune. It is to witness a revolution in the making.

Seventy years ago, the October revolution shook the world in ten days. A year has passed since the 27th CPSU Congress. These 365 days have shaken Kremlinologists, whose bread is buttered by the capitalist classes concerned about what is going on in your country. At the same time, these days have made a profound impact on the ordinary people, as well as on those rulers who have not lost all sense of reality. Many see that hope is once more dawning in the East.

As was the case seventy years ago, this hope is borne by the message of peace addressed to mankind by a new revolution. Whole generations have been guided in their lives and struggles by the famous Decree on Peace. As they climbed out of the trenches, French soldiers, nicknamed "poilus" (unshaven, unshorn), who had managed to survive the carnage, realized that there was hope of the first world war being the last. They identified peace with young Soviet government. That epoch is summed up in one name—Henri Barbusse.

Today's Decree on Peace is Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15, 1986. It holds real promise of a nuclear-free world, a world delivered at last from the fear of disappearing without a trace in a violent conflagration.

The message of peace addressed to the peoples and governments of the world was backed up by the concrete moves that followed it: the unilateral suspension of nuclear testing—a proof to sceptics that silence can reign at nuclear test sites after all; the beginning of troop withdrawals from Afghanistan and Mongolia; the efforts aimed at dismantling nuclear missiles in Europe....

I ask myself this question: isn't France, habitually too sure of its security, slumbering under cover of its "strike force" over there on the Western edge of the Eurasian continent, just as it once slumbered in the shade of the Maginot Line? Has it sensed, along with many other countries, the warm breath of the new wind from the East? French peace champions who, like those on other continents, are working to save the planet from nuclear destruction, to bring to an end all nuclear tests, including those conducted by France on the Mururoa atoll in the Pacific, have found a new leverage for action in Moscow's policy.

And they are working against heavy odds, to put it mildly, in a country whose rulers, be they the right or the Social Democrats, are effectively a "fifth column" to the United States in Europe. The government in Paris, which seems to be becoming an aide to Reagan, doggedly clings to militant and stupid anti-Sovietism. Besides contributing to the arms race, the social-conservative alliance is permitting—if not encouraging—major companies to take an active part in SDI research.

Anti-Sovietism is becoming all the more insidious today because it is no longer possible to ignore the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. Our rulers and the capitalist mass media obedient to them have barricaded themselves behind stereotypes.

Slaves to their preconceived notions designed to misinform the French people, the working class and the intellectuals about the realities of socialism, and Soviet socialism in particular, they cannot perceive revolutionary transformation as anything but a propaganda exercise. This testifies to their duplicity because, to be blunt, the current changes in the U.S.S.R. make their flesh crawl.

There was talk at one time about the October revolution having lost its creative impetus. It is obvious today that the period now referred to in your country as "stagnation" indeed helped anti-communist forces to paint Soviet reality black.

The April plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Congress of your Party, and the resolutions of the plenum held in January 1987 have proved beyond doubt that the Soviet Union's socialist system is capable of the strict self-regulation that is essential to further advance. The CPSU and the Soviet Union had the courage—unparalleled by any state, society or political party—to admit to past mistakes and get down resolutely to renovating the whole edifice. One cannot help but recall in this connection the French bourgeoisie's conspiracy of lies and silence on the massacring of the Paris Commune, the monstrous exploitation of the working class, and colonialist genocide.

Revolutionary **reconstruction** is day-to-day work. This makes it the very raw material a correspondent is supposed to process. Last year I attended the 27th Congress as a special correspondent for L'Humanité. Five months ago I settled in Moscow as my paper's full-time correspondent here. Over this short period it has hardly been possible for me to get the full measure of the reforms now in progress, fathom the famous "Russian soul," or make any predictions. This period has proved long enough, however, for me to understand that I am witnessing a historic moment, a turning point.

The broadening of democracy and openness reveal the true essence of socialist relations (and of whatever conflicts there may occur) in Soviet

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An Inspiring Policy

Interest in Czechoslovakia in life in the Soviet Union has never been as keen as since the 27th CPSU Congress. What has made an indelible impression on me is the new way in which Soviet Communists are tackling current questions of Soviet home and foreign policy. At the congress, difficulties and shortcomings were discussed frankly and openly. A year has now passed, and as they implement the congress's decisions, Soviet people are showing a bold, yet realistic approach to the problems at home. Naturally, I want the world to be rid of the burden of nuclear weapons, and would like to see the Soviet proposals find a positive response in the U.S.

As foreman of a socialist work team, I was particularly interested in the ideas the 27th Congress put forward for restructuring the economic mechanism and increasing the independence of enterprises and their responsibility for the end product. I was also impressed by the emphasis on scientific and technological progress in the process of acceleration. My teammates and, indeed, the entire staff at our Research Institute of Chemical Resins and Varnishes are keenly following the way in which the achievements of science and technology are being applied in the Soviet economy. The very serious changes taking place furnish a model that we too can emulate. For we also need to see new thinking and innovative effort overcoming inertia and red tape, and active interest replacing indifference.

We are trying to expedite the introduction of high technology in production in our country as well. Indeed, for everything we produce to be of optimum quality, measuring up to the highest standards, production must be fitted out with sophisticated machinery, as old and superannuated equipment will never yield good results. But there is more to it than that. We realize that the degree of acceleration achieved largely depends on our own effort, our own attitude to our work. In our branch of industry too, not even the slightest lag can be tolerated. My team is doing its utmost to accomplish all its objectives.

The orientation towards acceleration must not be confined to the economic sphere alone. In the effort to tackle the tasks set before our peoples, the creative initiative and activity of workers play no small part. Today we discuss these matters candidly within our team, as formal window dressing is what is to be feared most in the socialist work movement.

The policy mapped out by the CPSU at its 27th Congress is inspiring. For our part, we are doing all we can to live up to the motto of the socialist work teams, "to live and work the socialist way."

VACLAV KOCZI
Pardubice, Czechoslovakia

Talking to the Entire People

The steps the Communist Party is taking to transform our society are timely and vital. Everyone involved in this vast revolutionary process is bound to go through a decisive inner change and become intellectually and morally richer and purer. Our humane socialist principles and moral standards will regain their true value.

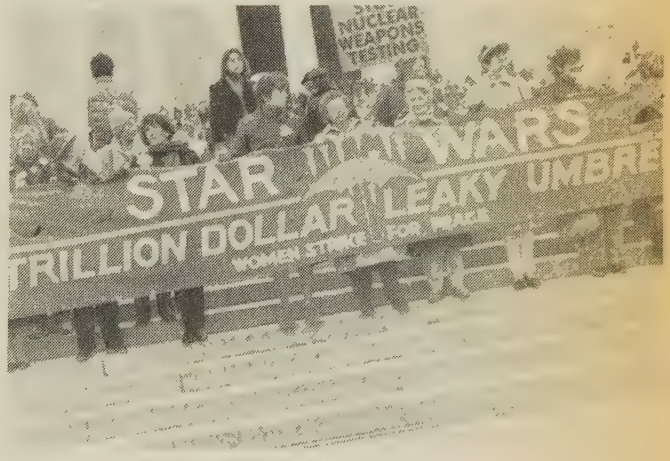
The principles of truth, openness and frankness set out by the Communist Party are marvellous. After all, frankness is the hallmark of respect for oneself and the other person, the more so if one is addressing the entire people.

The further democratization of every aspect of life in our society, especially production, calls for a high degree of responsibility, and opens up new and splendid prospects.

VERONICA BOGOMAZOVA
Tbilisi, U.S.S.R.

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION

This picture of anti-war marchers was taken in Washington at the close of last year by our U.S. reader Leon Forer.



"Tragedy may unfold in a matter of minutes, seconds even, in the 21st century. We are entering the era of a new technological revolution where the computer is a universal god worshipped even, I stress, by the military. Imagine such a hypothetical situation: a computer error may fire the alerted missiles and trigger off a senseless holocaust that will prove fatal to mankind. What is the outlook for peace in the maze of sophisticated hi-tech weaponry?"

FRIEDRICH DÜRRENMATT

Computer Error: What Could Ensue...

Hypothetical scenes and practical analysis

YURI BATURIN

SCENE ONE

An automatic satellite is launched from an American cosmodrome on a strictly peaceful research mission and blows up within seconds of lift-off. A setback...

A workshop on computing held in March 1986 in California, U.S.A., drew 61 participants of whom 36 signed the following statement: "The effective defence from nuclear annihilation of the lives, homes and property of the American people, as embodied by the Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars), requires highly reliable computer systems of unprecedented complexity. As experts in reliable computing, we strongly believe that a system meeting these requirements is technologically unfeasible."

Experts know what they are talking about. Indeed, the main danger of SDI lies not in laser or beam weapons, but in that all its combat systems are to depend on computer programmes. Software is assigned a crucial role in American military planning. According to the Institute of Defence Analysis in Washington, 80 per cent of the weapon systems now on the drawing boards in the U.S. are to be largely computerized. In 1984, the development of military computer systems cost the U.S. $11 billion, of which $8.5 billion went into software; in 1985, software expenditure alone amounted to $11 billion. The U.S. Electronic Industries Association expects this sum to have more than doubled by 1990 to account for about 20 per cent of the Pentagon's arms spending.

Incidentally, it is SDI's heavy dependence on computer software that adds enormously to the likelihood of the accidental outbreak of nuclear war. Here are just a few factors contributing to it.

Sophistication Factor

"There are some fundamental reasons why it [computer software] can never be made reliable enough that you could have confidence Star Wars would really work," said David Parnas, a leading authority on large-scale programming, appointed by the Pentagon's SDI Organization to its advisory committee on battle management software. He added that he had been promised a thousand dollars a day plus expenses and that as a man who wouldn't say no to a good pay offer and who likes to tackle research problems, he had initially succumbed to the temptation.

On second thoughts, however, he rejected the offer and submitted to the organization eight technical documents explaining why computer programmes would not work as required.

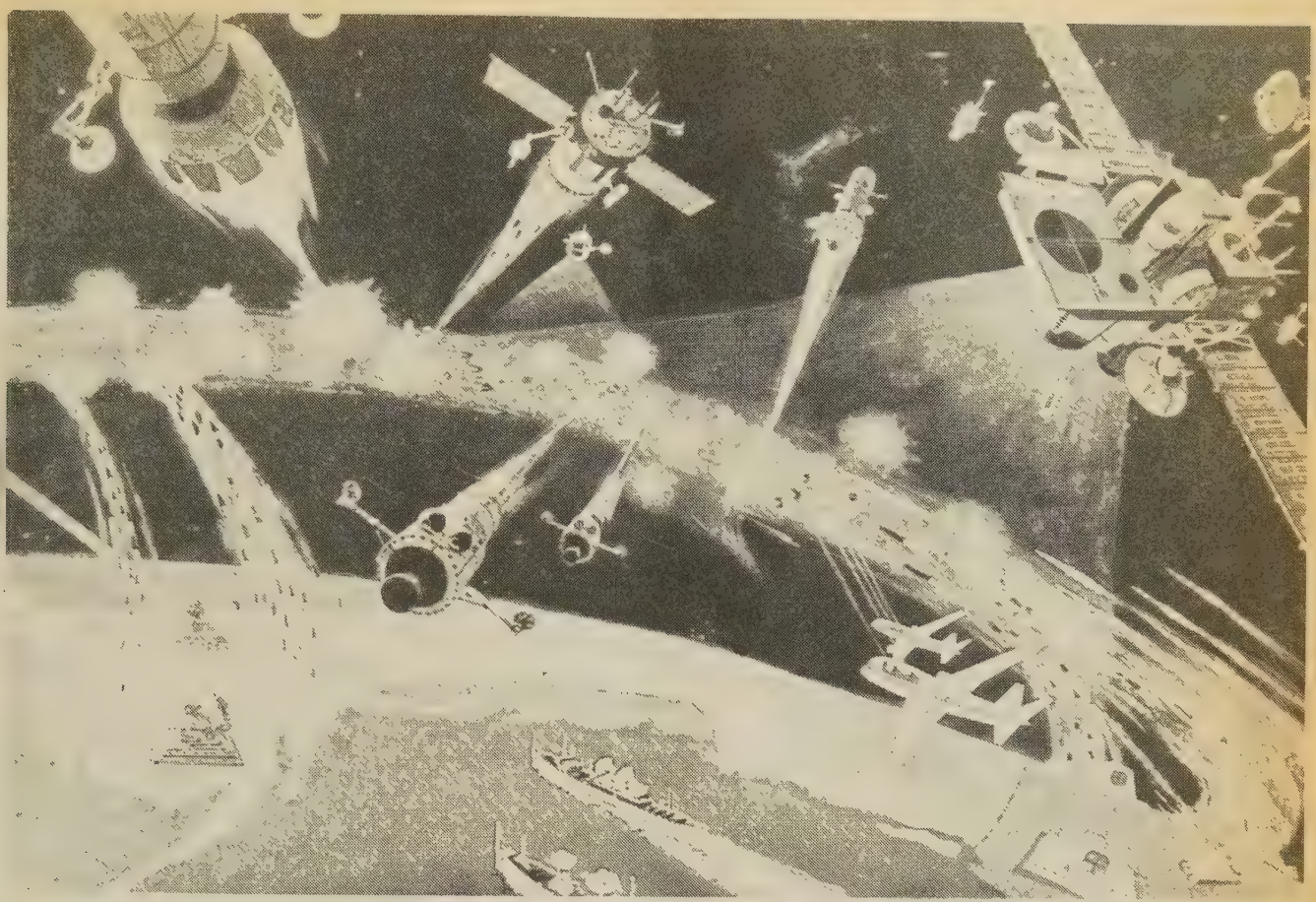
Imagine a huge tree trunk with tens of thousands of branches, each with a tip of its own. This is a crude illustration of the thousands of alternative variants the implementation of a programme involves. The situation is further complicated by the fact that as distinct from a tree, computer programmes have numerous "offshoots" interconnecting the main branches. It is impossible to keep all the offshoots in one's field of vision and to see to it that all the rules of programming logic are observed and that every offshoot is prepared to process the data coming in from all the others.

The programme for the "star wars" system is to comprise at least 10 million instructions (or even close to 100 million, at the estimate of some experts). Supposing you are to write a book of 10 million words. If you misuse a few of them, this may cause some eyebrows to be raised but not much else. Now, in a programme all the words must be used with the utmost accuracy and, furthermore, they must be properly interconnected.

A Shuttle-type spaceship requires about three million instructions, including ground-based launch-controlling and flight-tracking computers. This programme took years to work out. It was given innumerable ground tests, and has made it possible to carry out many successful flights. Whatever setbacks there were came from the programme "bugs." The Challenger tragedy confirmed that computers are error-prone: they did not signal danger until a mere 15 seconds before the explosion. This accident revealed another danger factor.

Uncertainty Factor

The question arises: what would the Challenger tragedy or the abortive satellite launch in our scene 1 have entailed if they had happened after the



SDI: When a computer blunder is fraught with disaster.

An artist's impression from Stern (F.R.G.)

deployment of strike weapons in space? The obvious answer is to be found in

SCENE TWO

A combat robot stationed on a space platform assesses the intensity of a flare-up, determines its bearings and other parameters and, without further ado, "pulls the trigger."

Indeed, who can tell for certain under the circumstances whether a spacecraft has blown up spontaneously or been destroyed by the enemy? The explosion would have been instantly responded to by the space weapon system control computers, whose only command would have been "Fire!" This is one of the most likely kinds of accident that could spark off a nuclear war.

Testing Factor

It is impossible to test the entire system in real conditions. The inevitable errors and defects in computer programmes can be put right only by running back and de-bugging a programme and then re-running it to make sure that everything goes right. The SDI system does not lend itself to testing, however. It can be endlessly developed and polished but never tested—except in the event of war.

The SDI Organization claims there is no need to test-run the system's programme as a whole, that it can be tested piecemeal on simulators. "The SDI people say they will test all their software before deploying it, but what if they don't anticipate the exact set of circumstances that the software will encounter somewhere down the road?" David Parnas asks. "You can't go back and fix the bug and start the nuclear war all over again?"

Programme-setters can never be 100 per cent sure of test results. Small errors that could eventually throw the whole system out of gear are their perpetual scourge. A phrase current among programmers goes that any last error found in a programme is actually the one before last.

"A check can reveal the presence rather than the absence of a technical error," Edgar Dijkstra, the noted Dutch computer expert, remarked. Software can either cement the entire SDI system together or make it fall apart. The slightest errors could render the system inaccurate and, therefore, useless.

Interaction Factor

SDI is a provocation in the sense that if it is deployed Moscow will be compelled to respond with an "anti-SDI" system. "Unless the Soviets cooperate and tell us what characteristics to look for, the recognition algorithms written into the software could be wrong," David Parnas said. Obviously, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are not going to share their military secrets with one another. This rules out the possibility of the joint full-scale tests essential to the development of interacting systems. The result will be two non-adjusted and unmatched systems confronting each other. Such systems are even more likely to fail. Consequently, the reliability of

military technical systems rapidly diminishes, and the probability of accidental war increases.

Time Factor

Since the SDI system is supposed to have a quick response, it will not even allow time for "waking up the President," as an SDI spokesman put it. Computers will have to distinguish between thousands of warheads and tens of thousands of "baits" (data will come in from an estimated 300,000 objects). Computers will have to track the trajectories of all the objects moving within the confines of the so-called "peril cloud." Computers will have to select the optimum strategy by picking out the most important targets, aim weapons, and check whether enemy missiles and warheads have been destroyed. The Americans expect all this to take the computers some 100-300 seconds, or as long as it will take you to visualize

SCENE THREE

Within seconds of the situation described in Scene One, the SDI computers make decisions that normally require days, weeks and even months of concerted action by intelligence experts, combat officers, generals, Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Commander-in-Chief. "Star war" begins...

What we have here is a situation where the fate of mankind is decided by automatic computers. Just one error will be enough to touch off a catastrophic chain reaction beyond human control.

In the opinion of Pentagon experts, U.S. servicemen themselves are of no small danger to military computer systems. One serviceman systematically sabotaged a computer, for instance. The sabotage factor is a matter of particular concern, as evidenced by a special report on the possibility of accidental war drawn up by an Ohio university research group. It follows from the report that since the end of World War II at least 439 U.S. servicemen have been demobbed on psychiatric grounds. Missileman selection procedures do not include tests for mental health and psychological aptitude.

Let us see what the chances of maintaining world peace are in the light of the foregoing.

Reliability Factor

Supposing SDI's immunity to each factor is 0.95, i.e., almost 100 per cent. This is a very high index for such complex systems and, if it were correct, would even do SDI credit. Calculations show, however, that the "almost" would reduce the actual reliability of the system (with all factors taken into account) to 0.73. This is not to say that any error or malfunction would necessarily lead to combat action, so let us assume the average reliability index to be 0.84.

Just imagine that you want to buy a TV-set for the sole purpose of watching nightly newscasts. If you learn that the set a salesman offers you could break down 16 times in a hundred days or about six times a month, (i.e., has a reliability index of 0.84) you will certainly dismiss the offer as a swindle. Therefore, phrases like "SDI is a bluff," which one comes across in the papers, should not be regarded as mere exercises in journalese; they go right to the heart of the matter.

After Parnas had withdrawn from the SDI advisory committee he was replaced by James Horning, an executive at a leading computer-manufacturing firm. Horning took a somewhat different view. "I cannot flatly say," he wrote, "that no piece of software can be deployed in the 1990s to control a ballistic missile defence system. It all depends on how much functionality, coordination and reliability are demanded of it. The dimension in which the major sacrifice will probably be made is in reliability." This makes the outlook for peace bleaker still.

Just how vulnerable software is can be judged from the following examples.

—In 1979, an American Venus-bound space probe fell short of its target, entailing a loss of half a billion dollars. The reason for this was a comma having been mixed up with a colon in the probe path correction programme.

—One version of the F-16 navigational programme would have turned the plane upside down each time it crossed the equator. This defect in the programme was revealed by a computer during a simulator test. One wonders how many latent flaws still remain undetected.

—The wing airfoil of the U.S. X-29 experimental fighter plane is such that three onboard computers have to adjust its attitude for list and pitch forty times a second. If all three computers malfunction at the same time, the plane will simply fall apart in mid-air.

Now let's go back to the outbreak of "star war."

SCENE FOUR

The catastrophe has become an accomplished fact, but fighting is still going on.

SDI has already done its job, and SCI, (Strategic Computing Initiative) comes into play. The purpose of SCI, the Pentagon's other billion-dollar programme, is to develop seeing, hearing, speaking and reasoning "expert computers" of a new (fifth) generation. The Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) under the U.S. Defence Department wants this entirely new computer technology to be geared to the needs of the armed forces in particular.

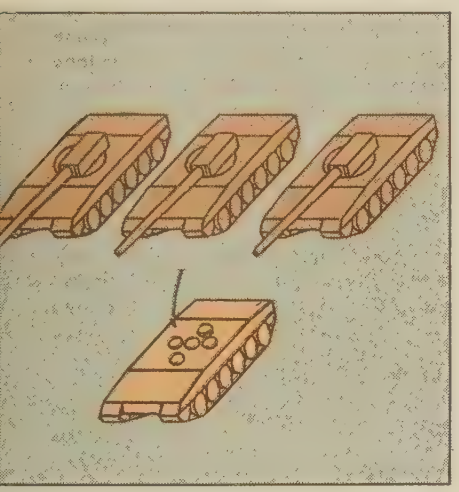
Today's fighter pilot controls his plane only to the extent to which the computer allows him. He cannot take risks unwarranted by his plane's flight specifications. What's more, the plane can be designed to ignore instructions that contradict those of the computer. A computer can disconnect manual controls and get the missiles set for combat action automatically.

So far computers cannot think, reason or read your mind. However, McDonnell Douglas is already working, as part of SCI, on a computer system intended to scan the waves emitted by the pilot's brain, monitor his pulse, heart-muscle contractions and other vital bodily functions, determine his fighting capacity on the basis of the data received, and feed him exactly as much information as he can process at a given moment. Many of the pilot's duties will be taken over by a "robot co-pilot" now being developed by the DARPA which will obey oral commands and even acknowledge them vocally.

The SCI data gathering and processing systems (referred to by the military as CCC, the initials of their three functions—command, control and communication) can follow developments in various theatres of operations. This capability is of vital importance in modern combat, but the CCC systems regularly sound false alarms that put troops on the alert.

In the late seventies and early eighties U.S. experts were concerned about the frequent malfunctioning of the Pentagon's Worldwide Military Command

and Control System (known as WIMEX). John Bradley, once in charge of testing its computer network, warned that the system was not reliable enough for the army command to depend on it. According to Bradley, not more than one false alarm in ten becomes public knowledge. Since WIMEX computers were incorporated into the North American Air Defence system (NORAD) in 1979, U.S. nuclear forces have been repeatedly alerted on false alarms, with strategic aircraft taking off and missiles readied for launching. The enormous BETA communication system, adopted by the U.S. army, is not much better. A report published by the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee in October 1980 said that over the past 18 months alone the NORAD command had issued, because of various technical troubles, 151 false warnings of a "nuclear attack" on the United States. During a subsequent



Automatic remote-controlled robot tanks as seen by the magazine Wehrtechnik (F.R.G.)

WIMEX check, computers erred repeatedly in the space of 12 hours.

SCI provides for the formation of whole computer-controlled robot armies. The U.S. Navy has already developed NT-3 robots for handling heavy cargoes and ROBART-1s which locate fires, sources of chemical agents and enemy craft and have a 400-word vocabulary; the latter can find their own way to battery recharging stations. The widely publicized expedition to the scene of the Titanic shipwreck in 1986 had the secret purpose of testing the Jason Junior military underwater robot.

The Grumman Corporation is working on the Ranger vehicle which "looks where it is going," and can negotiate any rugged terrain. Future modifications will be able to spy on enemy positions and go into action as robot tanks.

Odecs, a product of the Odetics company, can load and unload artillery shells, bypass outpost lines, pinpoint enemy artillery positions and return fire.

DARPA is now developing a computer "strategist" which will process data from radars and artificial earth satellites into recommendations to flag officers on how to organize naval combat involving an aircraft carrier unit complete with dozens of surface vessels and submarines. This combat control system is supposed to be able to analyze unchecked data, predict likely developments, work out action strategy and scenarios based on past experience and make logical decisions. DARPA openly favours the introduction of artificial intelligence as a normal method of military decision-making, and proposes to extend this process to include control of strategic nuclear missiles.

All this suggests truly apocalyptical

SCENE FIVE

Military robots, commanded by a computer "strategist," finish off the few surviving humans.

The chances of peace are further diminished by "hackers"—software and hardware experts who tamper with computer systems they have no authorized access to.

Back in 1973 one such meddler managed to tap off data from the ARPANET computer system at the U.S. Department of Defence.

Sabotage Factor

A group of Milwaukee hackers found its way into the computer centre of the Los Alamos National Laboratory. Another group managed to connect an extension line to the master computer at the U.S. Defence Department and tried to make changes in its top-secret programmes. Gaining unauthorized access to computers may result, the U.S. press warns, in the launching of American missiles or in actuating other strike weapons. Such, incidentally, is the story of the "War Games" movie hit about a schoolboy who all but provoked World War III by connecting his personal computer to that of a missile control centre. Walter Parkes and Larry Lasker, the script writers, spent two years watching the progress of a strategic nuclear weapon research programme. Said Parkes: "You want to believe that nuclear defence is in good hands; however, the more we looked into it, the more we realized that nobody is in control."

The danger of accidental war is made very real not only by the actions of individuals but also by the possibility of provocative action on the part of third countries. For instance, the inquiry into the case of Jonathan Pollard, a U.S. naval intelligence officer who worked for Israel, revealed that the secrets he sold Tel Aviv included codes and programmes for tank, missile and warplane control computers as well as codes of the U.S. Sixth Fleet based in the Mediterranean.

* * *

A computer "eliminated" thousands of citizens in a Swedish province recently. "Resurrecting" them took quite some time and cost millions of dollars. An operator had requested data from a computer on the province's total population and the number of deaths over a certain period. The machine mistook a hyphen between figures for a minus sign, made a mess of input data processing as a result, and erased all recordings from its memory without "thinking twice."

If a military computer wipes mankind off the face of the earth "without thinking twice," there will be no resurrecting it. We still have time to prevent this happening, but we must **act** instead of merely looking on.

Intoxication with Europeanism

ALEXANDER LEBEDEV

Soviet journalists are often reproached for giving too much space to demonstrations and strikes in the leading capitalist countries. But how can these things be ignored when they intrude so dramatically in the seemingly well-ordered life of those countries? During my recent visit to Spain, for instance, the streets of Madrid and Barcelona were full of protesting high school pupils and college students. Police interference, in my opinion, only made matters worse—the brutality of the guardians of the law merely aggravated the situation.

When I returned to Moscow I learned from the press and the TV that student unrest in Spain was continuing, gaining in scope, and now had the support of the trade unions.

What the Students Demand

A radical reform of the entire educational system, more democracy, and the breakdown of social barriers. Their action was an expression of social and economic problems which had accumulated under Franco rule but which had not been resolved since then, not even by the Socialist government (true, the government has now made some concessions).

The youth want to start out in life with the guarantee of being able to play a useful role in society. However, the outlook, at any rate for most of them, is unemployment.

The number of jobless in Spain today is around three million, nearly one third more than in 1982 when the Socialists came to power. The unemployment figure is approximately the same as in Britain whose population is one and a half times that of Spain. In other words, the permanently unemployed in Spain account for 21 per cent of the national labour force. Moreover, more than 1.5 million do not receive any unemployment relief. Young men begging for alms can be seen not only on the steps of churches but at busy downtown crossings. At the same time, there seem to be ten times more ultramodern bank buildings than there were 10 years ago. The poorer the country gets, the more banks there are, the Spaniards say bitterly.

The government contends that this is the price that has to be paid for economic revival and combating inflation. True enough, inflation did decline from 14 per cent in 1982 to 8.3 per cent in 1986. As for economic activity, the growth of the gross national product last year (2 per cent) was only a few tenths of one per cent above the previous year and was below the 1982 level. The government's arguments in justification of its economic policy are very much like those advanced by the Thatcher government in Britain in a similar situation. But, after all, Spain has a Socialist government.

I recall a talk I had with a Spanish journalist last year when the question of Spain's entry into the Common Market had been decided. He was euphoric: at last Spain would be hundred per cent European. His rapture was shared by many: they believed that membership in the European community would enable Spain to emerge at long last from its international isolation.

EEC and NATO

It seems to me that this "intoxication with Europeanism" is slowly beginning to wear off. And with the sobering up, dissatisfaction is coming to the fore—for one thing because everything Spanish is regarded as second-rate compared with the genuine "European." The pressure of the transnationals, with their essentially exterritorial way of doing things makes itself felt.

Spain's foreign policy too is beginning to be seen in a somewhat different light. In the early post-Franco years its independent course won it sympathy both in the traditional zone of Spanish diplomatic activity and beyond it. The prestige of Madrid grew notably both in Spanish-speaking America and in the Mediterranean, particularly in many Arab countries, and in Europe as well.

Sentiments in the country, including in some ruling quarters, were strongly in favour of a policy of positive neutrality (something in the nature of "Spanish Gaullism"), active cooperation with Third World countries, and a deepening of détente with the East. Entry into NATO ran counter to these sentiments. The pro-NATO camp argued that membership of the bloc was an inseparable component of the general "Europeanization" process and even an additional safeguard against a return to dictatorship. In reply, the opponents of involvement in the bloc pointed to the sad example of Greece whose NATO status had not saved it from the takeover by the "black colonels."

In the early eighties the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain was opposed to Spain's participation in the North Atlantic alliance. Addressing a million-strong rally in Madrid at that time, Felipe Gonzalez promised to take Spain out of NATO.

Later that stance changed. Last year the government did hold the promised referendum to decide the issue of participation in NATO. But the question put to the vote was formulated ambiguously and was preceded by a preamble which laid down three conditions for remaining in the alliance. Namely, non-participation in the NATO military organization, a ban on the stationing and storing of nuclear weapons on Spanish territory or their delivery to Spain, and the gradual reduction of the U.S. military presence there.

By an insignificant majority the referendum endorsed Spain's participation in NATO. How are the above conditions being observed?

Leaders of Spanish peace organizations maintain that Spain's "non-participation in the NATO military organization" is purely formal and that the collaboration is in fact growing.

In early February long-drawn-out Spanish-American negotiations on the question of bases took place in Madrid. Attention was focussed on two bases, one in Torrejon near Madrid, where 79 F-16 bombers are stationed, and the naval base in Rota. The latter base hardly figured in the talks which focussed on the future of the Torrejon base. Madrid insists on the gradual replacement of U.S. aircraft with even more up-to-date types, also U.S.-made but belonging to the Spanish air force. Washington is opposed to this.

So far the talks have bogged down, and several more rounds are due to be held. The Spanish government has warned that if no compromise is reached it will not prolong the bilateral agreement on military cooperation with the U.S.—it expires in May 1988, with noti-

fication of denunciation to be given six months in advance. Passions are running high. Washington is pressuring, Madrid is holding out.

At any rate this is how things seem to stand, judging by press and television reports. However, a Spanish journalist acquaintance of mine evaluates the situation differently. Spanish-American relations, he says, are better than they are made to appear, but slightly worse than Washington would like them to be. In any case, an agreement will eventually be reached.

As for nuclear weapons, no one I spoke with had the slightest doubt that the bases already have stocks of them. Not to speak of the regular entry into Spanish ports of U.S. nuclear-armed ships. It is evidently not by chance that Gonzalez was strongly opposed to the inclusion in the government programme of a point on banning the entry of nuclear-armed vessels into Spanish waters. "Anything but the New Zealand variant!" he exclaimed, clearly revealing his attitude to the position taken on this issue by the Lange government of kindred party affiliation.

Spanish Mini-Bomb?

While I was in Madrid the El Pais newspaper published the results of an investigation which throw light on a new and rather piquant aspect of the nuclear problem. It transpired that Spain is almost a nuclear power. As a matter of fact, it had been reported earlier that nuclear research had been going on in Spain as far back as the seventies.

Prof. Velarde and his "bombinette."
From El Pais (Spain)

Documents published by El Pais indicate that what is in question is the development by Spain of its own nuclear bomb, if only a small, tactical one (the necessary means of delivery are already there). When Franco discussed the question with de Gaulle the French called the future Spanish bomb a "bombinette." But however small, it would nevertheless be a nuclear bomb, with all the consequences ensuing therefrom.

It is highly probable that NATO quarters are surreptitiously preparing the ground for expanding the West European "nuclear club." And even if this is done on the pretext of strengthening defences "independent" of the U.S., this nuance can hardly cut much ice with the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Incidentally, El Pais reports that the government has earmarked 40 million pesetas annually for a super-modern research centre. Headed by Professor Guillermo Velarde, who is connected with the General Staff, the centre is working on nuclear projects, including some linked with the development of nuclear-pumped lasers under the "star wars" programme.

Not surprisingly, such reports cause anxiety among the Spanish public. The Palomares incident when an atom bomb broke loose from a U.S. bomber and did not explode by sheer accident has not been forgotten.

March 15 and the Pacifists

Spanish anti-war organizations are now preparing some powerful protest actions. On March 15, the anniversary of the referendum on participation in NATO, they expect to rally several hundred thousand people for a march on the Torrejon base.

The anti-war organizations—the Association for Peace and Disarmament, the Anti-NATO commissions, the Year 2000 Association, the Civil Platform of anti-war organizations, the Greens, the peace committees of the Workers' Commissions, and others—function independently of one another. But what is needed is concerted action. Hence the establishment of the coordinating committee of anti-war organizations.

However, there are differences which the leaders of some of these organizations consider fundamental. For instance, the majority, despite the outcome of last year's referendum, continue to stand for withdrawal from NATO and a policy of neutrality which, naturally, would imply the closing of the American bases. On the other hand, the leaders of the Civil Platform, for example, hold that the decision to stay in NATO is irreversible, and confine themselves to demanding the shutdown of the bases and observance of a nuclear-free status.

The March action will demonstrate the potential of the Spanish anti-war movement. The Anti-NATO commissions and other such associations, while still small, are dynamic organizations capable of mobilizing public opinion. What is important is that the trade unions are taking an increasingly active part in the anti-war movement. True, that movement is mainly left-of-centre. However, there are doubtless plenty of people in other political circles who are against the nuclear threat and are conscious of the dangers which involvement in the Pentagon's schemes would spell for Spain. It is noteworthy that the Movement for Peace, Disarmament and Freedom, which is said to be under Socialist influence, has become more active of late.

There is a notable awakening in Spanish society of interest in problems of world politics which had formerly seemed remote and abstract. The state of the economy has a great deal to do with this, of course. It is hard to imagine that people who have no work or are in danger of losing their jobs, as well as those whose well-being has not grown more secure in the recent period, are unaware that the Spanish economy is clearly not experiencing a boom, while military spending is considerably ahead of other budget expenditures. Spending on the armed forces and armaments has practically doubled since 1982—from 368,370 million pesetas to 704,007 million.

Nevertheless it is not only economic troubles that compel the Spaniards to give thought to the problems of war and peace. There was a time, they say, when they were the "backyard" of Europe where the nuclear danger was not keenly felt. Today they feel that this threat is on their doorstep. Last year's referendum, when hundreds of thousands came out into the streets to protest against participation in NATO, was a clear indication of a change in the popular mood.

Yes, much has changed in the country in the past ten years or so, especially the political atmosphere. In my opinion, the Spanish people with all their numerous problems and differences, feel somewhat more confident in themselves and are looking for their own Spanish ways of resolving these problems.

Madrid—Barcelona—Moscow

The "Enemy Image"

in films, in literature, in advertising

Americans have seen on television their Enemy, their Absolute Enemy, the Enemy of all Americans, the embodiment of Evil.

The Enemy has come from the Soviet Union, the ABC television mini-series "Amerika" suggests to the audiences so that they should know whom to hate. Those who decided to show the film apparently counted exactly on that.

Judging from the reviews of film critics, "Amerika" is artistically weak. It was shown despite objections from many prominent American public and political figures and the protests of the U.N., which feels offended. Its screening gives cause for some blunt talking that is, perhaps, overdue. Why do Americans see the Soviet Union and the Soviet people as their Enemy?

How has this image been formed?

In his book "Travels with Charley" John Steinbeck relates the conversation with an ordinary American whom one can meet in any part of the United States.

"You mean where will they bust out?"...

"Well, Sir," he said, "we've got a murder now and then, or we can read about them. Then we've got the World Series.... But I guess the best of all is we've got the Russians.... Oh, sure! Hardly a day goes by somebody doesn't take a belt at the Russians...."

"Anybody know any Russians around here?" I asked.

And now he went all out and laughed.

"Course not. That's why they are valuable. Nobody can find fault with you if you take out after the Russians."

A North Carolina schoolgirl told an ABC reporter that the first thing that springs to her mind when she thinks about the Soviet Union is that it is America's enemy. We have always been brought up that way, she added. We have always been told that we are the goodies, and they the baddies.

This idea has been deliberately and consistently fostered from the moment news of the October 1917 Revolution reached Washington, except for the short interlude of World War II. "Two years after the war ended," Bertolt Brecht recalled, "major Hollywood film studios received instructions to make anti-Soviet films, films directed against America's wartime ally. Large sums of money were allocated for this purpose and several scripts were commissioned. But, strange to say, the films were not made. Good scriptwriters showed no desire, and bad ones lacked the ability. Not all good writers were progressive, but the population was not yet ready to allow the heroes of Stalingrad, who had saved America from so many losses, to be vilified. It had to be brainwashed first."

That was no problem. The politicians stepped in: they began with Fulton in 1946. Good writers stepped aside, and bad ones stepped forward. The idea that the Kremlin's aim was to achieve world domination sank deep roots in popular culture. The TV serial "Amerika" did not appear out of the blue. It was preceded by such box-office successes as "Rambo-II," "White Nights," "Red Dawn," "Invasion U.S.A.," "Rocky IV" and a film about a third world war (which begins with a unit of Russian rangers cutting an oil pipeline vital for America—a theme that directly echoes official propaganda).

In each of the films the Enemy is shown as a brainless, evil figure, and always in Soviet military uniform. In "Rocky," even the American boxer's rival appears in that uniform—with the four small stars of a captain on his straps, though for some reason he also has the two pipings of a senior officer. He is "Soviet boxer Ivan Drago," shown in such a way as to arouse the revulsion of audiences, so that in the final scene, when Rocky, with Stars and Stripes on his shoulders, stands over the knocked-out Drago, this is accepted as the triumph of Good over Evil.

Why were these films box-office successes? For their realism, or their artistic merit?

Those are not the criteria that operate in popular culture. In this case the success of the films is due to the ability of their makers to involve the audience emotionally in what is happening on the screen, and exploit the natural desire to see the "alien" beaten. The audiences at such films have been conditioned to accept the American hero's victory over his Russian adversary. But does the viewer realize that what he is seeing on the screen is a malicious caricature, one that has no resemblance at all to the original? Probably not, to judge from what Americans know about the Soviet Union. Moreover, what the average American sees on his TV screen or at the cinema is entirely consonant with what he reads in papers and books, and hears from his country's leaders.

There is a direct connection between politics and popular culture. Mass culture has borrowed almost its entire anti-Soviet arsenal from the speeches of political leaders. And while political rhetoric has been largely compromised and has lost its credibility, politicized literature and films using the same themes are winning wide audiences.

Readers and viewers take on trust political films and novels that promise to "reveal" the story behind events. And, because of the way they are presented, they make a much deeper impression than any newspaper article or TV commentary. And if the Western reader glances indifferently through a newspaper article with all the usual stereotypes about the "Soviet military threat," a thriller describing how the Russians are preparing to invade Europe and eroding the West from within through the various peace movements is far more effective.

Thrillers of this kind are published in editions of thousands and even millions of copies, which is unusual for American and West European publishing companies, and they find their readers everywhere—at airports, drugstores, bus stops and railway stations—wherever cheap paperbacks are on sale.

A persevering investigator could probably compile a whole list of novels written virtually as sequels to the anti-Soviet postulates of Washington politicians.

Pride of place, of course, goes to the traditional theme—the establishment of Soviet domination over the world. Best known in this field are books by Frederick Forsyth, which top the best seller list.

In his book "The Devil's Alternative," the Soviet Union is planning to implement Operation Boris. With an attention to detail typical of Forsyth, he describes how it is to be carried out: tank columns will invade the F.R.G. and commando units take over key cities in Western Europe. Without any trouble, the Soviet Army will occupy almost the entire continent.

Frederick Forsyth's latest novel, "The Fourth Protocol," is even more to the point. The British Labour Party had hardly announced its intention to seek nuclear disarmament when in office than the novel appeared on the stands. And what a novel! No dry political plans, but a tense and thrilling story.

Moscow is up to its tricks again. Operation Aurora—this time the target is not the whole world, but just part of it—is designed to take over Britain. Nor will any special effort be required. The British are ripe to fall into Russian hands.

Cartoon by I. Smirnov

All Soviet agents in Britain have to do is detonate a nuclear bomb on the eve of parliamentary elections, and everyone will vote Labour. The Labour government will then shut down American military bases, withdraw from NATO, disband the army and capitulate to Moscow.

Allen Drury's novel "The Throne of Saturn," about a Russian attempt to dominate space, is very much in tune with the times in the context of Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, especially in view of the author's desire to convince his readers that no talks on space are possible with the Russians.

Two recent novels have come from the pen of Tom Clancy—"The Hunt for Red October" and "Red Storm Rising." Both have been put out in millions of copies. What are readers treated to? The Soviets are on the brink of economic disaster, and to ward it off they intend to invade the Persian Gulf—they need its oil. But to prevent anyone upsetting their plans, they first decide to undermine NATO by occupying the F.R.G. and Iceland.

Nor is it only in literature and films that anti-Sovietism is deeply rooted. It has also penetrated commercial advertising, which lives off staple stereotypes and breeds new ones. Anti-Soviet cartoons are used to advertise cutlets. The publisher of the West German newspaper Die Zeit, Marion Dönhoff, writes: "One can judge how successfully the 'evil Russians' have been turned into scapegoats for all misfortunes from the example of the vulgar anti-communism that prompted a chain of restaurants and snack bars to use anti-Soviet stereotypes in their advertising."

Popular culture is, of course, only a mirror. As John Mack of Harvard University points out, anti-Sovietism is born of the ideology of enmity. "The ideologies of enmity," he writes, "are oversimplified ways of looking at complex political relationships, so that all evil intention and behaviour is seen as residing in the other; aggression and destructiveness committed by one's own nation is made invisible or justified and rationalized. Responsibility for the predicament is found elsewhere." History shows that many regimes have needed such an Enemy—the embodiment of evil and the source of all the country's misfortunes. Such an Enemy was very convenient: its existence made it unnecessary to admit one's own crimes and mistakes, and helped make people put up with hardships and shortages, since all resources were needed to fight the Enemy.

"While politicians and government officials often wear their anti-Sovietism like a badge of honour," the magazine Nuclear Times writes, "they are not inclined to expose the systematic efforts the U.S. government has taken to foster cold-war attitudes and anti-Sovietism among the American public."

Having dubbed the Soviet Union the empire of evil and developed this idea to the full, Washington has ensured a certain measure of public support for its military programmes. But is the appeal to such base instincts admissible on the eve of the third millennium? In the nuclear age it is politically amoral. The question can also be put differently: is it admissible for a democratic society to manipulate public opinion in such a way? And who suffers, first and foremost, from the ideology of enmity?

What films Americans see is their own business. But surely "Amerika" must arouse the anxiety of the Americans themselves, and make them stop and ask themselves how the image of the Enemy in the public consciousness affects their own lives. In the nuclear age it is extremely dangerous not to fathom the character, psychology, aims and intentions of the other side.

Washington has made more than one grave mistake because of its misconceived views of the Soviet Union and its potential. The various embargoes are cases in point.

Anti-Sovietism as the ideology of enmity hinders not only the development of Soviet-American relations, but also any arms limitation, as well as the solution of global economic and ecological problems, as in all cases there is only one approach: everything Moscow suggests must be rejected out of hand. That reduces the chances of success of almost any sensible and mutually acceptable proposal and blocks international cooperation on problems of vital importance for mankind. It compels other Western countries and Japan to follow suit. That being the situation, surely all who take a responsible view of the future of our world should be concerned to eradicate anti-Sovietism and distorted, erroneous views of the Soviet Union.

LEONID MLECHIN

The Palme Murder: Trails and Theories

For a year now there have been fresh flowers and lighted candles in this place in the centre of Stockholm. Red roses and carnations on white snow. On February 28, 1986, this spot saw the murder of Olof Palme, Chairman of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Sweden, Prime Minister and tireless champion of peace and mutual understanding.

Who killed Olof Palme?

Let us explore several trails that have been uncovered since the crime was committed.

The "Main Trail"

Many believe that one reason the search has been fruitless is that the "main trail" led to a dead end. While over a period of almost a year, a group of 140 police, headed by Commissioner Hans Holmer, pursued that trail, others were neglected. This was the opinion of the group of prosecutors under Claes Zeime appointed last year to supervise the inquiry. When the wrangle between police and lawyers threatened to erupt into a public scandal, the government had to step in.

Around midnight on February 4, after hours of debate behind closed doors at the government office attended by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and Minister of Justice Sten Wickbom, it was announced that Holmer was to be replaced as head of the investigation by Holger Romander, head of the Swedish government police. Holmer was to be one of his many advisers. There were also some replacements in the prosecuting team which is now headed by prosecutor-general Magnus Sjöberg. In mid-February a parliamentary commission was formed which included four representatives of the opposition parties and three from the ruling Social Democratic party. Time will tell whether these reshuffles will at last help shed light on one of the most mysterious assassinations of the century, often compared to the assassination of U.S. President Kennedy in Dallas, Texas.

The "main trail" led to the Kurdish Workers' Party (KWP), which the Swedish government considers a terrorist organization. Founded in Turkey in the mid-1970s, it has proclaimed as its goal armed struggle for the creation of an independent state of Kurdistan. Fleeing persecution at home, thousands of Kurds emigrated to Western Europe. Many settled in Sweden.

The party is torn by divisions over its methods of struggle. Many Kurds left it because they disagreed with the party's reliance on terror and violence. It cost them their lives. Police investigating these crimes felt they might provide a clue to the assassination on Sveavägen. House searches, dawn raids, arrests and interrogations followed. In December of last year there was a shoot-out at a café in the Old Town frequented by Kurds. Those arrested, however, had not been involved in the assassination of Olof Palme.

In late January there seemed to have been a "breakthrough" in the investigation. One of the 20 people arrested in the course of a raid admitted that he had a Smith & Wesson revolver, the make that was used to kill Palme. Subsequently, however, the man refused to confirm his evidence and eventually the detainees had to be released.

Meanwhile, the FBI, the West German intelligence services and the Swedish experts who studied the two bullets found at the scene of the murder began to doubt that the weapon with which Palme was killed was really a Smith & Wesson.

At any rate, there is no evidence to show that Kurds living in Sweden are involved in the killing. However, the smear campaign in the local press has had its effect.

"Since Palme's death I have often had the word 'terrorist' hurled at me by people," says Mustafa Nabaz, a Kurd. "I had to leave my job. Not that anyone threatened me. But I know how the Swedes are influenced by what they read about us in their papers."

The unhappy lot of this Kurd, who has lived in Sweden for many years, is shared by many.

The prosecutors are now anxious to be seen to disapprove of Holmer, who went too far in persecuting the Kurds, used forbidden methods and impinged upon the civil rights of the immigrants. But these belated, vaguely apologetic statements have made little difference so far and the word "terrorist" still haunts the Kurds.

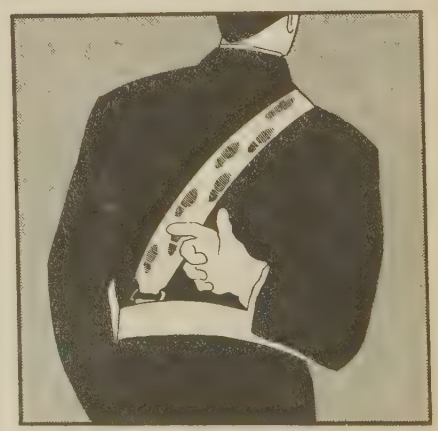
Swastika on the Walls

The swastika is sometimes seen next to appeals to "get foreigners out of the country." This is not surprising. Racism and fascism go hand in hand.

As early as January 8, 1986, eight members of the neonazi Northern State Party (NSP) were arrested in Göteborg. During the arrest, a hit list of victims was found in which Social Democrats topped the list of parties and Olof Palme that of "individuals." The list included many leading political parties and prominent officials and public figures. It also included Jews, blacks and persons of mixed races. At the trial held shortly afterwards in Göteborg, shocking disclosures were made. Blackmail, terror, arson, pogroms and assassination threats were all part of the arsenal of the NSP which tries to model itself on Hitler's storm troops.

On a summer night in 1985 a home-made bomb hurled into the premises of the Göteborg Left Party (Communists) office started a fire. Miraculously, there were no casualties as the fire was noticed by an ambulance driver.

Hagge Geigert, a journalist, made



An artist's impression of the "main trail" in the Swedish newspaper Dagens Nyheter.

The spot where Olof Palme was gunned down. The picture was taken two hours after the crime.

anti-nazi statements and charged the NSP with anti-Semitism. For many months afterwards he received threatening phone calls by day and by night, and daily letters of similar content. NSP leader Goeran A. Oredsson, who headed the campaign, likes to quote "Mein Kampf."

The local fascists used similar methods against J. Segersted-Wiberg, a prominent public figure and former member of the Riksdag. During the second world war she headed the local committee to organize relief for children in beleaguered Leningrad.

The neofascists publish a newsletter called Northern Struggle. Many are asking how it has been possible for such organizations to operate in Sweden. The answer seems to be that the authorities knew of the existence of the NSP, Swedish National Union and the New Swedish Movement but did nothing to stop their activities. Nor was there talk of banning these organizations at the Göteborg trial.

Anti-Communist Crusade

"The murder of the Prime Minister shed light on the mounting activity of the extremist Christian sects in Sweden that had conducted a hate campaign against Olof Palme." This comment comes from Dagens Nyheter. Scrappy evidence on the activity of such sects and groups appeared after the tragedy on Sveavägen and then only because the sects had attracted the attention of the police, for they did not bother to conceal their hostility to the deceased. This motley assortment of sects, which have a common hatred of communism, are all related to similar organizations in the United States which do much to stimulate their Swedish confrères to action. On March 22, 1986, Aftonbladet reported on one such group, the European-American Evangelical Crusade, whose leader, J.C. Thorell, a Swedish émigré in California, declared: "Palme is chiefly responsible for the fact that Sweden is disarming and thus paving the way for a Soviet invasion." This paranoic is convinced that the late Prime Minister was a member of a "world government" which had agreed to Sweden falling under Soviet influence. It is no wonder that shortly before the assassination Thorell's sect had prayed for Palme's death.

Not very different from the Crusade is an organization called Jesus of the Communist World modelled on an extreme right-wing American organization of the same name. They are both engaged in "missionary activities in the Eastern countries." Their pastor, K. Bergström, was adviser to several military regimes in Latin America, including Chile, in the early 1970s. Last spring he attended a Bern meeting of the International of Resistance movement, which has little sympathy for the Soviet Union. During the meeting, Bergström went so far as to accuse the U.S.S.R. of killing Palme. "The Russians used the Kurdish organization as a weapon," pronounced the self-styled prophet.

Another Swedish sect, the Salvation of the People, a branch of the American sect, Preachers of Destiny, sees Sweden as a bridgehead for ideological sabotage against the socialist countries. The main activity of the sect is to collect and get all sorts of anti-communist literature and money through the "iron curtain." "The love conservative American Christians feel for Sweden has a strategic basis," believes the Rev. F. Nilsson. "In our open society there is a growing closed movement controlled from the top. At first sight it seems innocuous enough but behind it stands an ideology firmly directed by the right in the U.S., which propagates the danger of communism and is hostile to apostates."

Was Olof Palme an "apostate," condemned to death by the high priests?

And Something Else

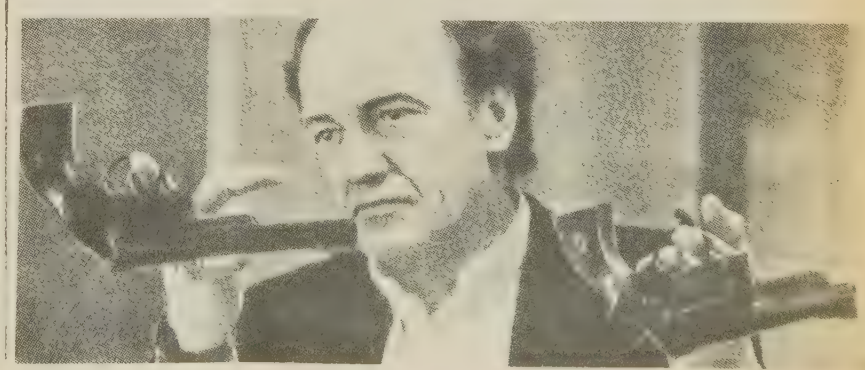
So, we have followed three leads identified by police and prosecutors or prompted by political logic. But other possibilities exist. The murder may have been carried out by a stray fanatic (the most difficult type of case to investigate), the European Working Party which we featured in an article in issue 36 for 1986, or terrorist groups.

A link has been suggested between Palme's assassination and the death in mid-January, under the wheels of an underground train, of Carl-Friedrich Algernon, chief of the war materials inspectorate (see New Times, No. 4, 1987). His death is in turn linked to the story of illegal Swedish arms shipments to Iran.

The role of extreme right-wing forces, the NATO and the CIA is unclear. They had many reasons to hate the late Prime Minister, as was pointed out by Jörn Svensson, the Left Party (Communists) deputy in the Riksdag, in his study of the political motives for the assassination of Palme, presented in parliament on November 7 last year.

Assessing the possible motives for the crime, he came to the conclusion that it was Palme's international activities that incurred the greatest indignation on the part of the Washington administration and the NATO command. The proposals of the Palme Commission, the document says, threatened to undermine U.S. plans for the arms race. It should also be borne in mind that Palme commanded great authority in public

Were these Smith & Wesson revolvers the murder weapons?
From Aftonbladet (Sweden)



and political circles in NATO countries, especially in the F.R.G. and Holland, which could potentially have led to changes in European strategy undesirable for Washington.

Svensson points out that the murder was so carefully planned and prepared as to leave little doubt that Palme was the victim of a conspiracy. Everything betrays the hand of the CIA, he believes. In his view the CIA probably used ex-commandos involved in the activities of right-wing extremist organizations in Europe. The following report carried by Svenska Dagbladet lends credence to the claim: back in January 1986 an anonymous caller told police that he had been offered $2 million to assassinate Palme. The man who made the offer was a former U.S. officer and a Vietnam veteran. On June 8 last year an anonymous caller told police that the CIA had staged the assassination.

Whether this is authentic information or a flight of fancy that could turn out to be true will only be clear when the murderer is found.

It should be noted, however, that the police have never officially mentioned the CIA as a possible accomplice in the murder. Nor was the local police impressed by the reports, one of which appeared in the London Observer, that the bullet might have been fired by Chilean security agents, a possibility mentioned by Chilean political refugees in Sweden. Palme himself had said that he was on the Chilean security services' hit list.

The Swedish bodies in charge of the investigation now have to start again from scratch. Many are asking why all the eyewitnesses were not interrogated at once. How did it happen that a whole year was lost?

The following fact came to light only recently. A woman who chanced to be close to the scene of the murder on the fateful night saw a SAAB police car parked at the curb speed away. As she later realized after reading about the murder in the newspapers, it happened minutes after the shots were fired. She overheard the driver say into the radio telephone, "Aha, so it's there." But the SAAB did not head for the scene of the crime. The authorities have expressed surprise that the driver was alone in the car. According to regulations, patrol cars are manned by two policemen. An inquiry into the matter has begun.

After being relieved of his duties as head of the investigation team, Holmer said that he knew the criminal was hiding in Liège, Belgium, and even knew the house where he was hiding. The attitude of the Belgian police was more guarded: "If he's in Belgium, we'll get him."

Perhaps no other political assassination has prompted so many variants, guesses and hunches. That it was a political act is being suggested increasingly often. There is some logic in this if one looks at the figure of Palme, who was a far from ordinary personality.

Newsreels show Palme addressing parliament. A man of powerful intellect and wide erudition, he was a brilliant speaker and polemicist. His arguments, stinging impromptu utterances and pointed remarks put down many a political opponent, and few could boast that they had got the better of Palme in a political debate. His personality combined many noble qualities and his range of activities and interests was wide. This earned him the respect and affection of many and made him not a few enemies. It is this that makes it so difficult to identify the forces that guided the assassin's hand.

It is no secret that champaigne glasses were raised shortly after the assassination and that last October someone desecrated Palme's grave. At the same time we see grief and tears in the eyes of thousands of Swedes, who are mourning the man who had done so much for the country and its people.

We went to the corner of Sveavägen and Tunnelgatan a few days before the anniversary of the murder. As usual, there were flowers and lighted candles. It was a Saturday, so the place was especially crowded.

We stood to one side, observing passersby, alone and with families, pause and lay bunches of roses or carnations. We approached some of them at random and asked them the same question, "What did the assassination of Palme mean to you?" We did not ask their names or occupations.

"He was a wonderful man. I am not very interested in politics but I know he did a lot of good."

"I was shaken when I learnt he had been killed. It was a shock. Time has blunted the feeling of loss, but we still miss Olof."

"He was a superb politician, but I can't say anything about him as a person. But of course I did not know him personally. I liked him because he was so energetic, cheerful, witty and approachable."

"I still can't believe it. I can't imagine who could have killed our dove of peace. It baffles me."

* * *

Who, then, killed Olof Palme and why?

The question still awaits an answer.

NIKOLAI VUKOLOV (TASS)
DMITRY POGORZHELSKY
(New Times)

Stockholm

"Subsidiary Trail"

In an article published on February 10 in Sweden's leading newspaper Dagens Nyheter journalist Bjarne Moelv writes:

A number of groups, military and paramilitary organizations outside government control have sprung up claiming to discharge the functions of police and counterintelligence. In spite of government attempts to suppress the "pirates," the groups continue to exist. Their membership has fallen, but they have become more fanatical and are prepared to accept assistance from dubious quarters in Sweden and abroad. The more extreme among them regarded Olof Palme as a "traitor," the architect of a policy of accommodation towards the Eastern "superpower."

The trail leading to these organizations must be investigated, if only to dispel the growing suspicion that the killer could be a member of one of them.

Man and His Place in Life

Interview with Hungarian film maker ANDRAS KOVACS

Andras Kovacs frequently visits the Soviet Union and, in spite of tight schedules, always finds time to see his friends.

"I have many friends in this country, among them Grigory Chukhrai, Yuli Raizman, Elem Klimov, Gleb Panfilov, Alexander Mitta and Georgian film makers," he says. "Our friendship has been cemented by love for our common pursuit—the art of film making."

"How did you become a film director?"

"Soon after the war, in 1946, I enrolled at a film school in Budapest. My colleagues and I dreamed of a new Hungarian cinema and that dream became my life's work."

"What was your first film about?"

"It was a rustic love story. I knew the life of the countryside well and decided to make a film about what was most dear to me. I was 35 at the time. Alas, my first, second and third films went unnoticed. But my fourth, 'Difficult People,' was a success with audiences and I at last came to believe in my talent. . . ."

"What are your favourite subjects?"

"I try to show the opportunities that are open to a man for self-realization when he is fully aware of himself as an individual. I show the political, social and moral factors that stand in the way of such self-realization, what the individual can control and what is beyond his reach. My film 'Walls,' for instance, is an allegorical account of a man's inner, spiritual world and the obstacles to his development. I am interested in man the creator, the builder of a new society, capable of improving the world. I seek to trace changes in man himself and his philosophy, beliefs, mental makeup and moral principles in the course of such activity. A point is reached in social development, too, when a new way of thinking is required, and I am especially keen to show how such thinking finds expression.

"My profound belief in the ability of socialist society to reach the farthest frontiers of progress, and my belief in the individual's commitment to the ideals of such a society give me strength and reinforce my conviction that my life's work is useful and necessary. There was a time when I thought all problems could be resolved in a couple of years. But as you grow older and wiser, you begin to realize that the process is far slower and more difficult than one would wish it to be.

"It is very important that both the older generation and young people should always feel responsible for everything that happens on earth. I wanted my film 'Cold Days' to show how subjective factors influence a man and how important his image of himself is. Does he consider himself a small cog in a large piece of machinery on whom nothing depends (all decisions are taken by others and my job is to do what I'm told) or does he see himself as someone capable of changing the world? By letting others make decisions and stepping aside, he puts both society and himself in jeopardy. He effectively gives a free hand to hostile forces, and the whole world can be pushed to the brink of catastrophe. That is why as an artist I am interested first and foremost in those of my contemporaries who do not flinch in the face of difficulties and are not afraid to assume responsibility."

"Hungary has made considerable progress in socialist development in the past few decades. Naturally, there are still problems that society will have to resolve. Which of these problems do you consider most important?"

"Twenty years ago I produced 'Difficult People.' The characters in the film sought social progress in every field, improvements in the economic machinery and greater independence for enterprises. Social and economic modernization was just beginning in our country at the time. I will say without false modesty that practice has confirmed the correctness of the position advanced in the film, and it has not lost its relevance today. People are still extremely interested in many of the problems raised in that film.

"I think both economic and psychological problems are important. They are interdependent. Man must believe in his strength and be convinced that progress depends at once on himself individually and on everyone together. Going back to what I said about the

Andras Kovacs, right, on location.

'cog,' if a man is limited in his choices and happy with what has been decided for him by others, he has a poor self-image. He develops infantile attitudes, apathy and self-doubt. A man must be the master of his own life, and master of the earth. We should foster those forms of social development that encourage everyone to show initiative and criticize what is outdated, outmoded and a brake on progress. Both material and moral incentives must be made to work. I think these problems are urgent today, and I have always tried to tackle them in my feature and documentary films.

"I am profoundly interested in the individual's quest for his place in life, as well as in the person who has found such a place. I am attracted by his mental and moral life. I empathize with people who are able to take decisions in critical situations."

"What do you think of the role of literature, the arts and cinema in social development?"

"Of course, neither literature, the arts or the cinema can change things on their own. But they can contribute towards an auspicious cultural and moral climate for material and social progress. The best books and films mould convictions and outlooks. This is true only of those productions in which the artist tackles very serious and important subjects. Such films have long lives, stimulating thoughts and feelings. If a film maker has produced even one such film, he should be happy."

"As a filmgoer, what are your views on the work by other prominent film makers?"

"I will always remember Sergei Eisenstein's films, especially the second part of 'Ivan the Terrible.' I have great respect for Yuli Raizman's work. His prewar 'Last Night' will live forever in my memory. The same is true of Grigory Chukhrai's 'The Forty-First,' 'Ballad of a Soldier' and 'Clear Sky.' I also admire films by the Italian neorealists. Recalling all these films, I have a feeling similar to that produced by listening to good music. They put my mental processes in order."

"There are different types of film. Some film makers seem to parallel life, record it, and reflect reality as if in a mirror. Others try to look ahead, catch a glimpse of new problems, and consider ways of resolving them. What is your preference?"

"To keep abreast of life, to reflect major events and immediately pass judgement on them is an important mission of the arts, including film making. But when an artist addresses past history, the results can be as stimulating. Past events viewed from the vantage point of today sometimes prove remarkably relevant and important to our contemporaries. It is rarer for artists to run ahead of their time and tackle future problems, farsightedly identifying their seeds in the contemporary situation. This is the most arduous path, and one that only writers and film makers who feel they can overcome the difficulties dare to embark on."

"You were head of the Hungarian Film Makers' Union for many years. What are the main trends in Hungarian film making?"

"The fate of the country and its history have always been central themes with Hungarian film makers. We have produced many films on historical subjects and I have also made some myself. My latest film in that genre, 'The Red Countess,' shows Hungary in the early 20th century, the time of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the establishment of the Hungarian Soviet republic.

"Films about problems in the country's social development, its problems and prospects play an important role in our film making today. The sincere concern of the party and government for the living standards of the population and the broadening of socialist democracy enable film makers to tell the truth about their anxieties and interests. Otherwise progress would be impossible. Sometimes the problems raised by our film makers are difficult and cause keen debates and disputes, with different viewpoints clashing. But unless the more pressing problems are dealt with, we cannot get at the truth and understand and explain what a difficult and arduous path has been traversed by our country from 1945 to today, and why it has been so difficult. The truthful presentation in the cinema of the most fundamental and vital problems is the only sure index of genuine art."

YURI BELKIN

"Climbing high into a lone acacia tree in the early morning, professional hunter Robin Hurt and one of his American clients, Andrew McMillan, spot a shy and elusive antelope, called a sitatunga.... McMillan gets the animal in his telescopic sight and fells it with one quick, clean shot.... Dinner at camp that evening is sitatunga steak—'one of the rarest steaks in the world,' offers Hurt."

That was how a Newsweek correspondent, Ray Wilkinson, described a safari in a remote part of Tanzania. Hunting techniques are so sophisticated that even the most cunning and agile animals do not stand a chance.

A day's hunting in Africa now costs $1,000-$1,500, including carriers' fees and the cost of transport and the haulage of prey. Professional hunters are usually hired to be certain of a kill. Safari is a sport for the rich.

The animal world is being disastrously depleted on a global scale. Here are some facts and figures.

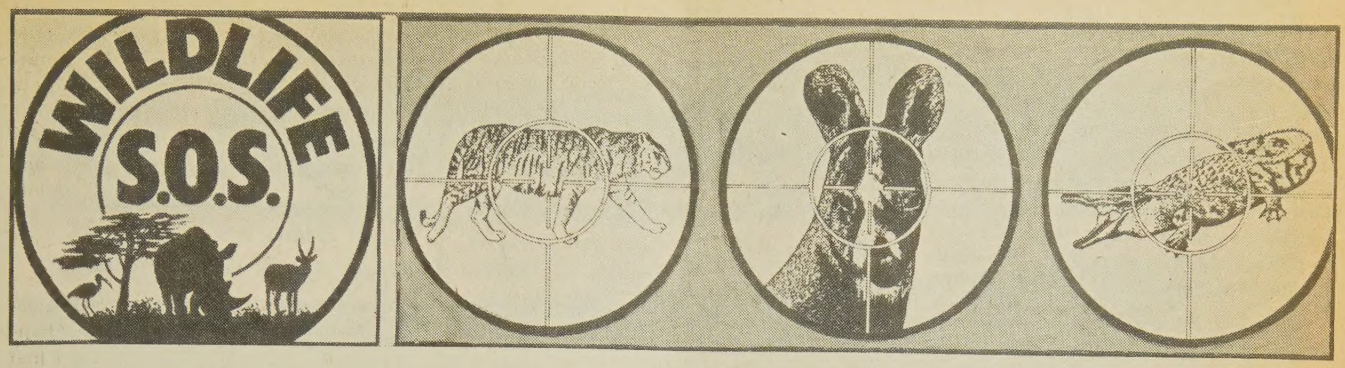
The black rhinoceros is believed to have existed for over 70 million years. In the early 1970s, there were about 65,000 animals in East, Central and southern Africa. The figure last year was 4,500.

Africa today has 700,000 to one million elephants. The figure seems impressive, but the hunting statistics released in 1986 tell a different story. Six years ago Chad had a herd of 15,000 elephants and only 3,000 have survived. The herd in Uganda shrank from 20,000 to 3,000 between 1971 and 1979. Altogether 90 per cent of Sudan's elephants, 60 per cent of Zaire's and 80 per cent of the herds in some parts of Kenya have been slaughtered. There are virtually no animals in Somalia and few in Côte d'Ivoire and Tanzania.

Dr Richard Luxmoore of Cambridge has reported that certain species of crocodile have been almost wiped out in South America. "Hunters have switched to the less desirable caymans," he added. "They are now hammering these all over the world."

How Much Does a Lion Cost?

In Kenya the figure adds up to half a million dollars, judging from the profits of the tourist industry. Most people go to Kenya to shoot animals with their cameras rather than their rifles. But, alas, it is far more profitable to kill wild animals than to immortalize them in colour slides.



Sorely Endangered

Rapacious destruction of Third World wildlife

In the early 1970s a pound of black rhinoceros horn fetched $17 (wholesale). The price has now climbed to $300 and oil sheikhs are known to have paid $13,000 for a pound. Traditionally, rhinoceros horn is used to make the handles of the curved Arabian daggers called djambiyas.

Elephant tusks are not prized so highly but there is a whole industry that markets about 9 million ivory objects a year to an approximate total volume of half a billion dollars.

Musk from the glands of the Himalayan male musk deer yields merchants $10 million in profits a year. Musk is used in medicine and the perfume industry. Hunters are indiscriminate and may shoot female deer, which have no musk. However, the earnings from the sale of a couple of stags can feed a rural family for a year.

A profitable business in Papua New Guinea is the manufacture of bags from crocodile leather. Exotic butterflies are also highly prized: a rare specimen fetches $7,000 or even more. Regrettably, more and more butterfly species are becoming rarities.

The wool of a rare Peruvian animal, the Andean vicuna, costs $200 a kilogram.

The hunting of Bengal tigers is a lucrative business in Bangladesh: a tiger hide fetches up to $5,000.

Let the Frogs Live

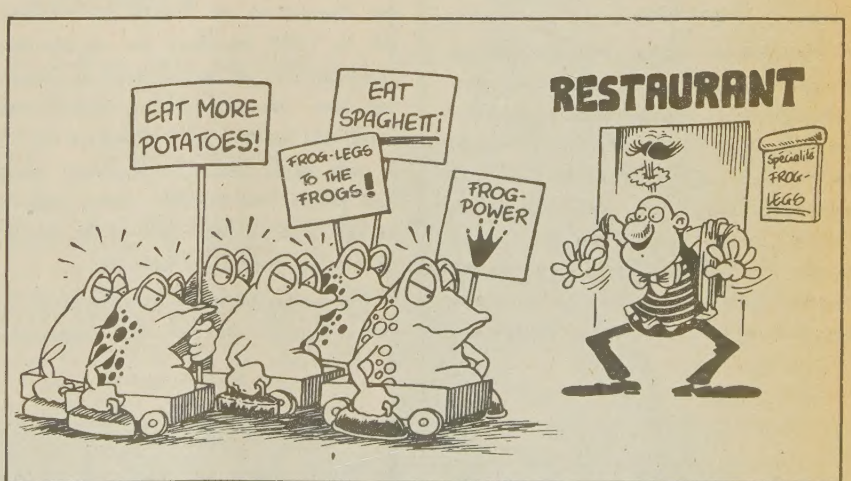
A frog protection campaign has now been launched in Europe and India. Fried frog's legs have long been a delicacy in France. Now the taste for that dish, resembling fried chicken, has spread to many countries. The F.R.G. is the largest European importer of frog's legs after France, buying on average 540 tons a year. Sales to Canada and Japan continue to grow. The absolute record holder, however, is the United States, which in 1983 imported 3,000 tons of frog's legs, although the country itself has frog-breeding farms.

The leading suppliers of the delicacy are India, Bangladesh and Indonesia. India is the largest producer, killing up to 60 million frogs a year for export (the Indians themselves do not eat frogs). In all, 20-25 frogs must be killed to obtain a kilogram of legs, which fetches $50 or more on the world market.

Exporters usually hire poor farmers to do the job. Frog hunters with spotlights go out into the fields at night, catch the frogs and pack them in sacks. Trucks take the sacks to special workshops, where the frogs are put into a salt solution to stun them. Then their hind legs are chopped off and they are sometimes skinned to make trinkets.

The effects of this business are disastrous. The frog is a useful animal and an essential element in the ecological system. China supplied an instructive example in the early 1950s, when it wiped out sparrows in the belief that they destroyed harvests. When the birds had been exterminated legions of insects appeared, a far worse scourge for the harvests. The damage to agriculture was immense.

The same is now happening with frogs. A journal published by the Bombay Natural History Society reported recently that harvests had been badly damaged by insects in Western Maharashtra. The onslaught was



Cartoon from the Baghdad Observer (Iraq)

caused by the wide-scale destruction of frogs. Every frog eats its own weight in insects a day. The frogs killed in India could have eaten roughly 2.4 million tons of insects in three months. The incidence of malaria in West Bengal, which produces about half of all exported frog's legs, has soared. The use of pesticides against the malaria mosquito and their larvae is even more disastrous for the environment.

The Indian government has restricted frog hunting. It is completely prohibited from May to August, when insect-related farm losses are especially high. Exports of frog's legs were cut from 4,500 tons in 1981 to 2,000 tons last year and smuggling is tightly controlled.

The Tusk-Hunt

General André Kolingba, leader of the Central African Republic, was almost killed by a group of poachers on a trip to the remote north of the country in late 1985. As many as 220 elephant tusks were seized from the poachers. Poaching gangs in the Central African Republic use automatic weapons to hunt the animals and have already killed 8,000 of the total herd of 11,000, leaving rotting elephant carcasses in their wake.

Poachers operating on such a scale are desperate people and will not hesitate to use their weapons against game wardens. That is why the punishment for poaching is comparatively severe.

Veteran poachers know the animal's habits well and can imitate their cries. They usually ambush their prey at watering holes. Special enclosures are built and traps dug. All this is hardly a job for a lone hunter and a poaching gang averages 15 members.

Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has approved tough anti-poaching legislation. An operation code-named Stronghold was planned in 1985. Between then and September 1986, 13 poachers were killed and 11 detained. Glenn Tatham, chief warden of the region, says: "It's very difficult to arrest someone with a rifle who is prepared to shoot you. Unless they throw their guns up in the air and raise the white flag there is no chance we are going to . . . arrest them."

Animal Liberation Front

The sensible conclusion has been drawn in many countries that it is not necessary to kill animals to obtain valuable products from them. Peruvians trap Andean vicunas, shear them and set them free. Horns are sawn off the heads of trapped animals and the musk of the Himalayan deer can be extracted without killing the animal. Crocodiles are different and have to be killed to get their skins. Some countries, including Zimbabwe, Cuba and Papua New Guinea, have started crocodile farms.

Public movements have emerged to defend the animal kingdom. One organization is called the Animal Liberation Front. The front members are lobbying in Spain for a ban on bullfighting. Last October the front reported that unidentified persons had threatened to abduct front members if they did not stop their anti-corrida campaign. A letter they sent to the Animal Liberation Front read: "You would do better to abandon the wish to put an end to the traditional sport, a part of our Spanish heritage and identity, than to try to deprive the animal of its star role in the sport."

The London Sunday Times recently described another aspect of the front's activity in Britain. It was founded in 1976 as an offshoot of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. All its 1,300 members are vegetarians. The front did not restrict itself to preaching love for animals but immediately went into action. Front members set fire to pig farms and meat delivery trucks and broke into poultry farms and research laboratories, setting the poultry and experimental animals free.

The leader of the British branch of the front, Ronald Lee, has now received a prison sentence for his activities. He says: "It seems to me perfectly natural and a very moral thing for people to intervene directly to save animals from persecution. Of course, this would often mean breaking the law, but those laws had been made by a selfish and arrogant human species without taking the interests of animals into consideration."

Lee's deputy, Emma Fox, has the following vision of the future for which the front is fighting: "Society would be based on small self-sufficient communities, quite an anarchist society growing its own fruit and vegetables. A lot of cultivated land would be given back to the animals. Sheep and cattle would graze wild. The only way to achieve this is to cut the human population. I don't mean mass slaughter, but reduction over a period of time."

However, the front's leader believes that the killing of people who are cruel to animals should not be regarded as terrorism.

A further duty of front members sounds absurd: they must make their homes available to "freed" animals.

* * *

Savage poachers lusting for profit at one end of the scale, and people destroying animal farms and urging a return to nature at the other are two sides of the same coin, two extreme forms of self-expression in capitalist society.

But it is even more important and symptomatic that the scene of the predatory destruction of animal life today is predominantly the developing world. West European and American hunters travel thousands of miles to have fun or engage in illegal trade. This practice is a manifestation of disregard not only for animals but also for those Third World countries that often do not have sufficient resources to defend their natural environments from human predators.

DMITRY ZGERSKY

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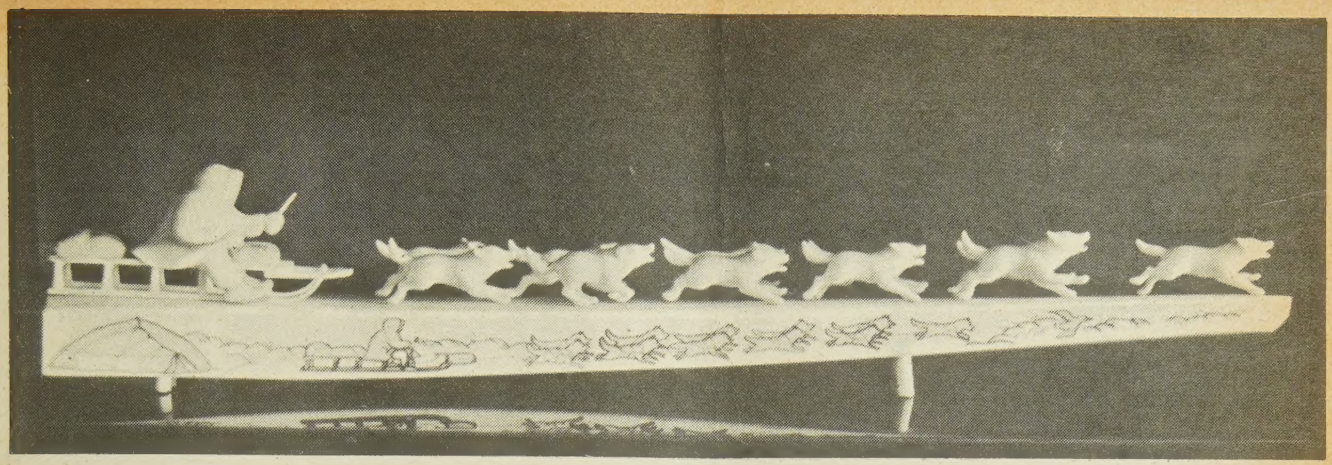
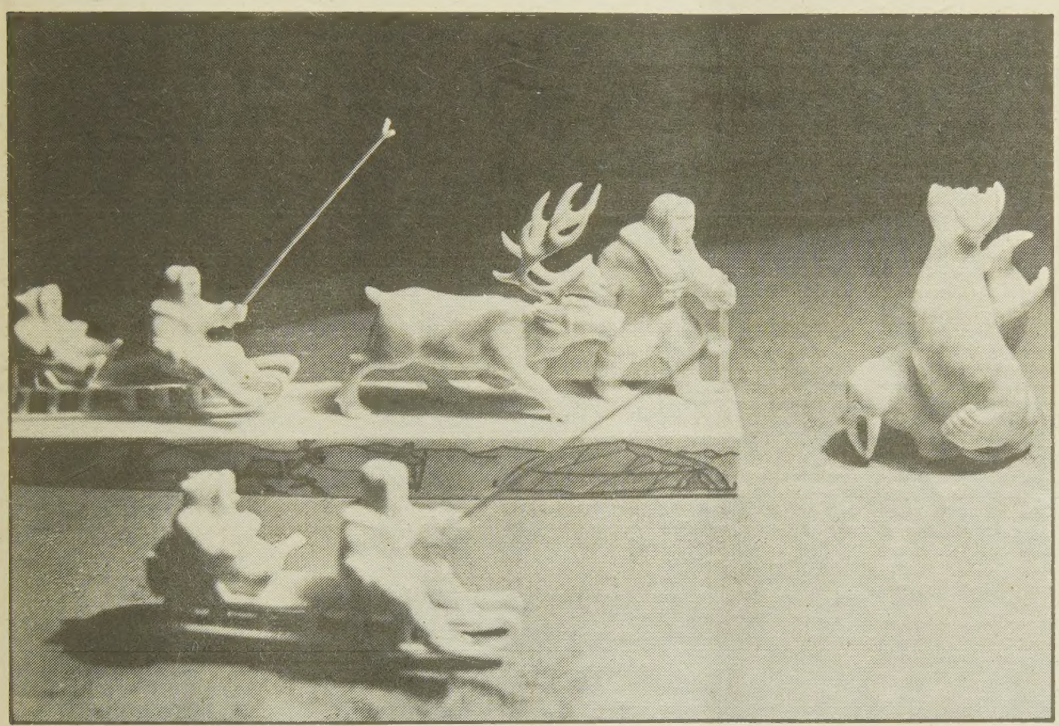
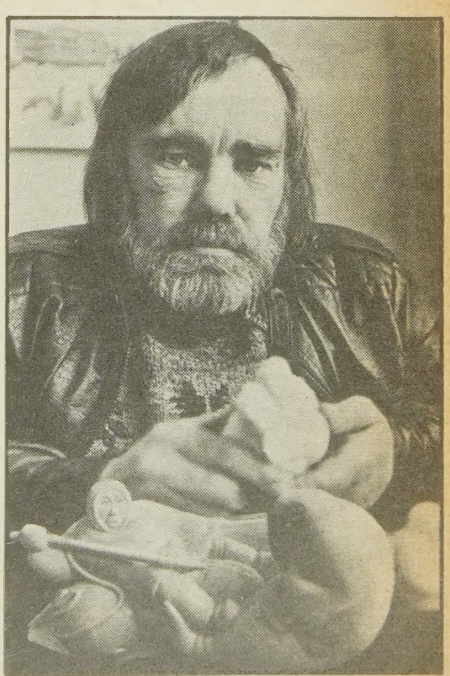




● Specimens of the bone carvers' work.

Photos by V. Volkov



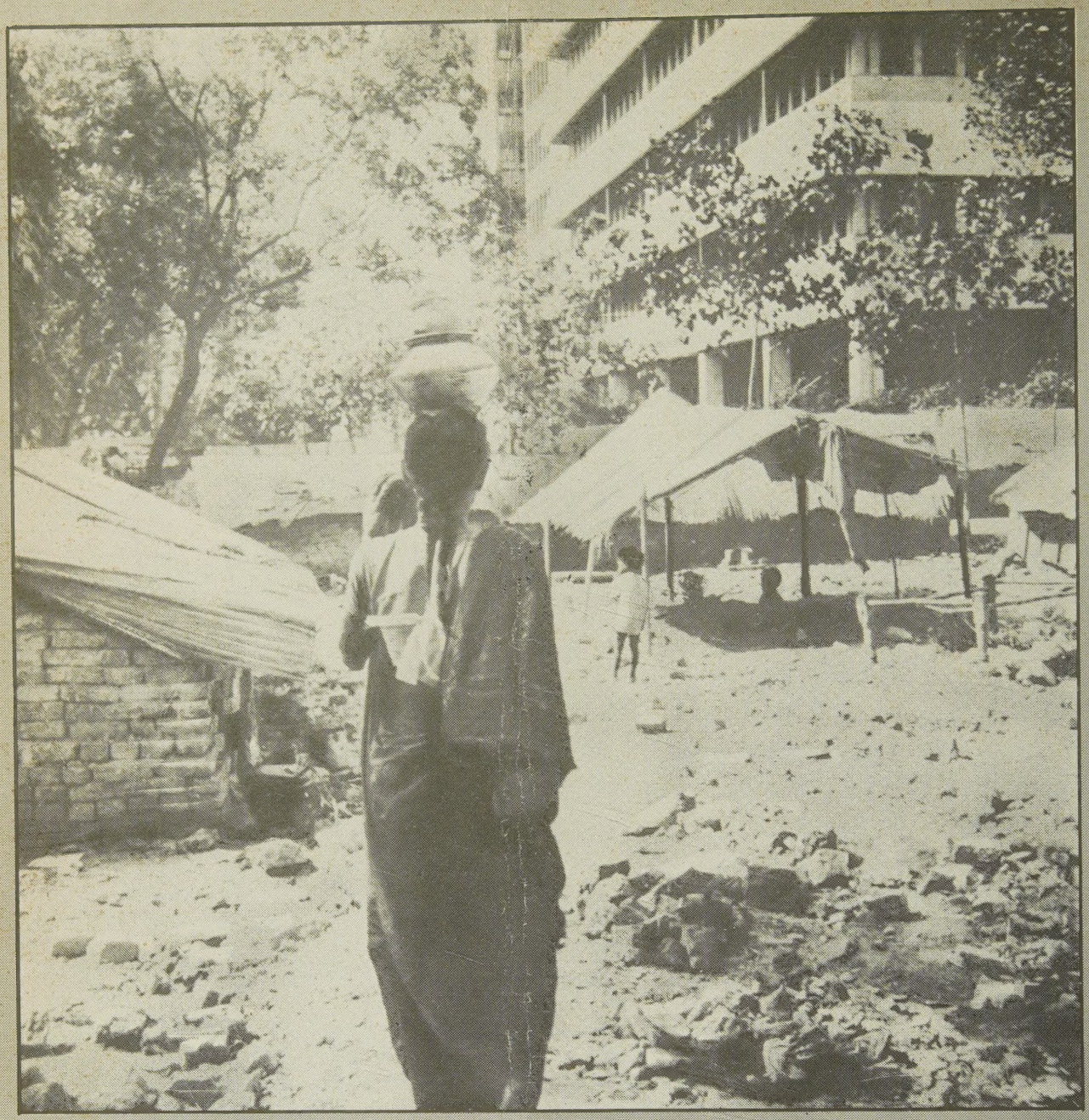
● Edvard Tachenko, an Uelen craftsman.

The Carvers of Uelen

Uelen, the easternmost inhabited point in the Soviet Union, is famed for its bone carving, an art which traces its origins to the earliest inhabitants of the Chukchi Peninsula. Half a century ago a craftsman named Vukvol carved on walrus tusks his famous "Chelyuskin Epic" and "The Chukchi Legend of Lenin." Since then more and more themes inspired by the new life on the peninsula have been reflected in the work of the Uelen carvers. In the years of Soviet power the Eskimos, Eveny and Chukchi ethnic groups, once on the verge of extinction, have acquired their own written language and literature. The Chukchi Peninsula has produced scientists, writers and poets whose names are known throughout the Soviet Union.

In the years when Vukvol created his masterpieces his countrymen believed that the airplane was a bewitched bird and the shamans predicted that it would bring misfortune. Today polar flyers have come to the aid of the reindeer breeders. Modern buildings have replaced the former reindeer-skin tents, and fishing is done by powerful seiners instead of small fishing boats. But the age-old traditions are carefully cherished and the subjects that inspired the forebears of the bone carvers of today have not been forgotten: fleet-footed reindeer team racing across the snowy expanse faster than the icy wind; the faithful dogs whose warmth alone sustained travellers lost in the frozen tundra; a polar bear roaming among the hummocks of ice....

This unique craft has been handed down from generation to generation Today more than 150 bone carvers are plying their craft at the Vukvol Northern Souvenir workshops in Uelen.



Old and new.

Prem Nath Nag

(India)

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ